

# SurveyLA

Los Angeles Historic Resources Survey

## LOS ANGELES CITYWIDE HISTORIC CONTEXT STATEMENT

### Context: Chinese Americans in Los Angeles, 1850-1980



*Prepared for:*  
City of Los Angeles  
Department of City Planning  
Office of Historic Resources



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**National Park Service, Department of the Interior Grant Disclaimer**

This material is based upon work assisted by a grant from the Historic Preservation Fund, National Park Service, Department of the Interior. Any opinions, findings, conclusions, or recommendations expressed in this material are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Department of the Interior.

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## **PURPOSE AND SCOPE**

In 2016, the City of Los Angeles Office of Historic Resources (OHR) received an Underrepresented Communities grant from the National Park Service (NPS) to develop a National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form (MPDF) and associated historic contexts for five Asian American communities in Los Angeles: Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Thai, and Filipino. This “Chinese Americans in Los Angeles” context was developed as part of the grant project and to contribute to the Citywide Historic Context Statement developed for SurveyLA.

This context was initially developed in 2013, under the direction of the OHR, and was partially funded with a 2012-2013 Certified Local Government grant from the California Office of Historic Preservation. As part of the NPS grant the 2013 Chinese Americans in Los Angeles context was subsequently revised to further define themes and associated property types, comprehensively address resources identified through SurveyLA (which wrapped up in 2017), and more fully involve the community in the process.

While this context provides a framework for identifying and evaluating properties relating to Chinese American history in Los Angeles, it is not intended to be a comprehensive history of the Chinese community. This history has been separately documented over the years in books, articles, and studies. Rather, this context provides a chronological approach to this history and focuses on themes and geographic areas associated with important extant resources.<sup>1</sup> The context narrative is followed by a section that identifies the relevant property types associated with themes presented, and includes a discussion of their significance and eligibility standards (Appendix A). This context has been used to complete the MPDF form, which is similar in content. However, while the MPDF focuses on resources that meet eligibility standards for listing in the National Register, this context also addresses resources that meet eligibility standards for listing in the California Register of Historic Places and designation under the Los Angeles Cultural Heritage Ordinance (Historic-Cultural Monuments) and Historic Preservation Overlay Zone Ordinance (HPOZs).<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The end date for SurveyLA is 1980 and may be extended over time. The National Register of Historic Places has a 50-year end date for properties to be listed unless they are of exceptional importance.

<sup>2</sup> For the National Register MPDF the term “Registration Requirements” is used in place of “Eligibility Standards.”

## **CONTRIBUTORS**

### ***Consultant Team***

The 2013 version of the historic context was completed by historic preservation consultants Chattel, Inc. The team included:<sup>3</sup>

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- Erika Trevis, Chattel
- Jenny Cho (consultant to Chattel))
- Leslie Heumann (consultant to Chattel)

This revised version of the context was completed by the NPS grant project team. Architectural Resources Group (ARG) served as the prime consultant and commissioned Historic Resources Group (HRG) to complete the Chinese American context. HRG team members included Kari Fowler and Christine Lazaretto. Kari is a Senior Preservation Planner at HRG. She earned her Master of Arts in Urban Planning from the University of California, Los Angeles and has fifteen years of experience in historic preservation. Christine is a Principal at HRG. She earned her Master of Historic Preservation from the University of Southern California, and has fourteen years of experience in historic preservation.

### ***Project Advisory Committee and Community Outreach***

As part of the scope of work for the NPS grant referenced above, the OHR organized a project Advisory Committee (Committee) to work with the grant consultant team. Participants included key leaders in the Asian American community representing a wide range of interests, organizations, and institutions as well as professors, lecturers, scholars, and writers of Asian American history. A full list of participants is attached as Appendix B. The Committee played a critical role in identifying important places associated with each context and also advised on pertinent sources of research information. The Committee members also served as subject matter experts to review and comment on context drafts.

Following the first meeting of the Committee in November of 2016, the OHR organized a series of five community meetings in locations throughout Los Angeles. These working meetings (one for each associated context) also gave the community the opportunity to provide input on significant places to inform the contexts. In some cases, the outreach meeting let to one-on-one meetings with community members.

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<sup>3</sup> All Chattel staff team members have subsequently moved on to other positions.

This Chinese American historic context has been greatly enhanced by the contributions of various individuals and organizations active within Los Angeles' Chinese American community. Notable among them are Dr. Munson Kwok, former president of the Chinese Historical Society of Southern California, founding member of the Chinese American Museum, former National President and current National Board member of the Chinese American Citizens Alliance, and Advisory Board member for the Chinatown Business Improvement District; Eugene Moy, Member at Large and former president of the Chinese Historical Society of Southern California, 2<sup>nd</sup> Vice President of the Chinese American Museum, and National Representative for the Chinese American Citizens Alliance, Los Angeles Lodge; Dr. Sue Fawn Chung, Professor Emerita at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas Department of History, and Advisor Emerita to the National Trust for Historic Preservation; Suellen Cheng, Executive Director Emeritus of the Chinese American Museum, and museum director and curator of El Pueblo de Los Angeles Historical Monument; Steven Y. Wong, chief curator at the Chinese American Museum; and George Yu, Executive Director of the Chinatown Business Improvement District. Additional participants included Wendy Chung, William Chun-Hoon, Rick Eng, Warren Hong, Al Soo Hoo, July Phun, Dr. Tom Williams, Dorothy Fue Wong, and Winston Wu.

## **PREFACE**

In the 1960s, the United States underwent significant social and cultural upheaval as many communities of color and other marginalized groups fought for civil rights and were involved in national and international movements for liberation. Grassroots organizing and landmark legislation like the Civil Rights Act of 1964, Voting Rights Act of 1965, and Immigration Act of 1965 reshaped the collective consciousness of communities of color. During this era, the Watts Riots in 1965 and the East Los Angeles Walkout (or Chicano Blowouts) in 1968 helped empower communities of color in Los Angeles, and across the nation.

By the late 1960s, Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino Americans formed a movement of their own—an Asian American movement. It was with the Black Liberation Movement, the Anti-War Movement against the Vietnam War, and Third World Liberation Front movement that the concept of Asian American was formed as a political identity. Young Asian Americans mobilized in their communities across the nation and in Los Angeles to fight U.S. imperialism and the unequal treatment of Asian Americans. In 1968, students of color across California organized and held strikes as part of the Third World Liberation Front. This movement was instrumental in creating and establishing Ethnic Studies as an academic discipline—and subsequent Asian American, African American, Chicano American, and Native American Studies—on college and university campuses. It was as part of this larger movement that the Asian American Studies Center at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) was established in 1969<sup>4</sup> and Asian American community-based organizations were developed and strengthened to serve the community.

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<sup>4</sup> Steve Louie and Glenn Omatsu, eds., *Asian Americans: The Movement and the Moment* (Los Angeles: University of California Los Angeles Asian American Studies Center Press, 2001).

As community leaders, scholars, and leaders reflect on the past, it is fitting that the City of Los Angeles honor the historic and cultural contributions of Asian Americans. Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders have long and dynamic histories in shaping and continuing to shape the city. From the 1880s pioneering Chinese American settlements, to more recent recognitions of historic and cultural ethnic neighborhoods like Historic Filipinotown and Thai Town, tourists and residents alike often pose questions about these places, their signs, and the importance of Asian Americans in the building of Los Angeles.

### **Asian Americans in Los Angeles Multiple Property Documentation Form**

This *Asian Americans in Los Angeles* Multiple Property Documentation Form (MPDF) establishes a framework to guide the identification and designation of places significant to Los Angeles' Asian American communities. Geographically, the contexts cover the history and development of five Los Angeles neighborhoods that have been designated as Preserve America communities— Chinatown, Little Tokyo, Koreatown, Historic Filipinotown, and Thai Town—and also focus on other areas of the city in which these groups settled over time.

Topics covered by the contexts focus on extant resources associated with important individuals, organizations, businesses, industries, and movements. Themes addressed include commerce, religion and spirituality, health and medicine, deed restriction and segregation, community organizations, military history, media, cultural landscape, architecture.

While these five Asian American groups were the focus on this project, it is important to recognize the diversity within Asian American and Pacific Islander (AAPI). There are many other AAPI ethnic groups that have contributed and continue to contribute to the rich diversity of Los Angeles, including Pacific Islanders, South Asians, and Southeast Asians. This MPDF provides an opportunity to engage with City officials, community leaders, preservationists, scholars, and others to continue identifying and designating places that are important in telling both AAPI stories and all of the city's stories.

### **Asian Americans in Los Angeles**

Each of the MPDF's five contexts discusses the dynamic waves of immigration and settlement patterns of Asian Americans in Los Angeles. Within each group, the power of place resonates as Asian Americans find places of residence, work, and community as Angelenos. With a long history of discrimination, displacement, and associated demolition of property, Asian Americans resisted and struggled to maintain a sense of identity, as well as their homes, businesses, and cultural institutions. Ethnic neighborhoods in Los Angeles like Old Chinatown and Little Tokyo were established in the early twentieth century while others including Koreatown, Historic Filipinotown, and Thai Town were formed as subsequent waves of immigrants and their families settled and laid roots in the city.

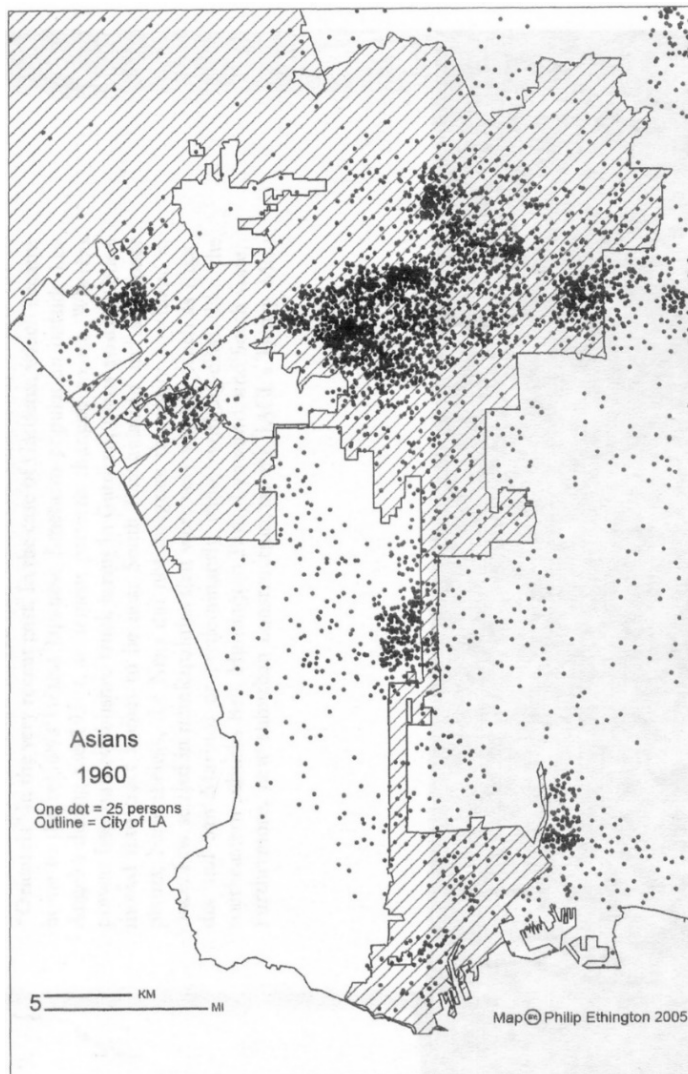
These settlements were never formed in isolation. Many Asian American settlements were shaped alongside other Asian Americans and communities of color, often due to discriminatory policies and

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practices that limited where they lived, worked, and sought a sense of community. Places important to Asian Americans in Los Angeles were often rendered in the margins to other Angelenos, and were nonetheless significant for finding a place to call home, be it a single-room occupancy hotel in Little Manila or Little Tokyo, an employment agency in Chinatown, or a church in Koreatown. As Asian immigrants or seasonal migrants came to Los Angeles, they sought out familiar places for economic opportunities, a place to stay, and places that reminded them of their homelands.

As subsequent generations of Asian Americans in Los Angeles grew in size, alongside continuous waves of new immigrants, the landscape of Los Angeles also evolved. The power of place for these groups in the city helped forge a growing sense of identity as Asian Americans. By the 1960s, the population of Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino Americans in the city grew beyond the early ethnic neighborhoods and into the suburbs. During this pivotal time, cultural and community institutions began to broaden their focus of serving new immigrants to include services for families, older adults, and youth. Other



*Dispersion of Asian Americans in Los Angeles, 1960*  
(Philip Ethington, USC, 2005)



immigrants from across Asia and the Pacific followed in significant waves, reuniting families and drawing in new immigrants, carving out their own sense of place in this booming and diverse city.

### **The Legacy of the Asian American Movement in Los Angeles**

The term Asian American is a political construct born in the 1960s as Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino Americans (and other Asian ethnic groups) fought collectively for civil rights. In 1969, the Asian American Studies Center was established at UCLA in Campbell Hall. Community members, students, staff, and faculty sought to develop a center to bridge campus and community around the theme of liberative education and social justice. The Asian American Studies Center worked alongside three other ethnic studies research centers: the American Indian Studies Center, the Ralph J. Bunche Center for African American Studies (formerly Center for Afro-American Studies), and the Chicano Studies Research Center.

UCLA served as an active site for the development of Asian American Studies as a field of study. *Amerasia Journal* (established at Yale by Don Nakanishi and Lowell Chun-Hoon, moved to UCLA shortly after its start in 1971) became a leading journal for the field. The Center also saw the importance of fostering student projects like *Gidra*, founded in 1969 and “created alongside the rise of radical third world grassroots student coalitions, in addition to the Black Power movement and Civil Rights Movement. After being denied official recognition by the university, the students started publishing *Gidra* independently, using the university’s Asian American Studies Center as its headquarters.”<sup>5</sup> Following its inception as a student newspaper, it moved to the Crenshaw area to be housed closer to L.A.’s Asian American community.<sup>6</sup> One of the first Asian American Studies conferences was held in Los Angeles in 1971 with opening remarks by Congresswoman Patsy Mink, the first woman of color elected to Congress.<sup>7</sup>

The Center was also created to work closely with Asian American community organizations in Los Angeles. East West Players was founded in 1965 by Asian American artists Mako, Rae Creevey, Beulah Quo, Soon-Tek Oh, James Hong, Pat Li, June Kim, Guy Lee, and Yet Lock in the Pilgrim Church in Silver Lake. It was supported in its early stages at UCLA. East West Players is the nation’s longest-running professional theater of color and the largest producing organization of Asian American artistic work. Visual Communications is another Asian American cultural institution. Visual Communications was founded in 1970 by UCLA students Duane Kubo, Robert Nakamura, Alan Ohashi, and Eddie Wong to support Asian American film and media.<sup>8</sup> It was initially housed and supported by the UCLA Asian American Studies Center. Both Visual Communications and East West Players have since moved to Little Tokyo in the historic Union Center for the Arts (formerly Japanese Union Church of Los Angeles).

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<sup>5</sup> Haivan V. Hoang, *Writing Against Racial Injury: The Politics of Asian American Student Rhetoric* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2015), 56–76.

<sup>6</sup> Mike Murase, “Toward Barefoot Journalism,” *Gidra*, 6 (April 1974):1, 34–46.

<sup>7</sup> Conference Proceedings of the First National Conference on Asian American Studies, Los Angeles, CA, April 1971.

<sup>8</sup> Karen L. Ishizuka, *Serve the People: Making Asian America in the Long Sixties* (Verso Books, 2016), 159-160.

### ***Chinese Americans in Los Angeles***

Chinese Americans first settled in Los Angeles in the 1850s with its first permanent settlement centered near Los Angeles Plaza (El Pueblo de Los Angeles) and later referred to as Old Chinatown due to a series of subsequent settlements developed near or around downtown Los Angeles. The Chinese Americans in Los Angeles context discusses the settlement patterns of Chinese Americans while noting key contributions to the city's built environment and burgeoning economy. Chinatown, as it is known, has been studied as being shaped by economic and social dynamics of race, space, and power.<sup>9</sup>

One site of historic and cultural significance for Chinese Americans in Los Angeles is the Castelar Street School. Since 1969, the Asian Education Project (AEP), later known as the Asian American Tutorial Project (AATP)—with Asian American college students from UCLA, University of Southern California (USC), and Occidental College—has served Castellar Street School in Chinatown by tutoring low-income, immigrant, limited English proficiency elementary school students. Castelar Street School was the first school in the Los Angeles Unified School District to provide tri-lingual instruction in English, Spanish, and Chinese. It also housed the Chinatown branch library of the Los Angeles Public Library from 1977 to 2003.

### ***Japanese Americans in Los Angeles***

The history of Japanese Americans in Los Angeles dates back to 1869. Since then, shifting migratory, settlement, and development patterns have continued to be shaped by outside forces including discriminatory policies, redevelopment, and displacement as well as forces within, through cultural institutions, and small businesses. Little Tokyo is one of three remaining historic Japantowns (*Nihonmachi*) in California that survived the forced evacuation and incarceration of Japanese Americans in concentration camps during World War II and the demolition that occurred during urban renewal in the 1950s and 1960s. Japanese American institutions and services including community halls, language schools, Buddhist temples, Christian churches, markets, nurseries, and other nonprofit/cultural institutions have shaped Little Tokyo and other Japanese American settlements in Los Angeles.

The Union Center for the Arts, formerly known as the Japanese Union Church of Los Angeles, was established in 1918 as it merged three congregations: the Los Angeles Presbyterian Church (established in 1905), the Los Angeles Congregational Church (established in 1908), and the Japanese Bethlehem Congregational Church of Los Angeles (established by 1911). During World War II, President Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066 on February 19, 1942, just a little more than two months after the bombing of Pearl Harbor. Shortly after, a series of Civilian Exclusion Orders were publicly posted all along the West Coast of the United States, notifying persons of Japanese ancestry of their impending forced removal. "Instructions to All Persons of Japanese Ancestry" were the infamous words seen at the top of the posters. The Union Church was listed as a designated reporting location for Japanese Americans in 1942; many were able to store their belongings in the building during their incarceration.

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<sup>9</sup> Jan Lin, "Los Angeles Chinatown: Tourism, Gentrification, and the Rise of an Ethnic Growth Machine," *Amerasia Journal* 34, no. 3, (2008): 110-125, doi:10.17953/amer.34.3.v545v63lpj1535p7.

Union Church has evolved from a place of worship to a center for Asian Americans arts and culture as home to East West Players and Visual Communications (established in 1970). The Union Center for the Arts is listed as part of the Little Tokyo Historic District, a National Historic Landmark.

### ***Korean Americans in Los Angeles***

Los Angeles has one of the largest Korean populations outside of the Korean peninsula with a notable Koreatown, home to hundreds of Korean- and Korean American-owned small businesses, churches, and community institutions. Although large-scale migration and settlement occurred in the aftermath of the 1965 Immigration Act, a historic and important Korean American community dates to the turn of the twentieth century when laborers arrived in Hawai'i in 1903. Soon after, migration continued to the continental United States, especially to California where Korean Americans worked as migrant farm labor and some became small business owners.<sup>10</sup>

The greater Los Angeles area has served as one of the hubs of Korean America for over a century. Koreatown experienced notable growth after World War II and the years that followed 1965. The 1992 Civil Unrest/Uprising/Riots marks a turbulent coming of age experience for the Korean American community. Layered beneath the contemporary and continually expanding borders of Koreatown are historic sites that have played a significant role in community life. One such site, located near USC, houses both the Korean Presbyterian Church of Los Angeles and the Korean National Association (KNA) building that share the same campus. The church dates to 1906, and is among the oldest Korean American congregations in the nation. The KNA building dedicated in 1938 serves as a testament to the independence movement that animated the struggles and hopes of the early Korean American community.

### ***Filipino Americans in Los Angeles***

The Filipino Americans in Los Angeles context traces the history of Filipino immigrants and subsequent generations in the city from 1903 to 1980. It spans from the arrival of the first known Filipino Americans in Los Angeles to subsequent movement of Filipino Americans in the city as shaped by immigration policies and discriminatory policies as well as community institutions. The context focuses on historical themes based on residential settlement patterns, economic activity, and the growth of cultural institutions including cultural centers, small businesses, service agencies, and churches.

What is known as Historic Filipinotown is influenced by earlier settlements of Filipino Americans in the Downtown area.<sup>11</sup> From Little Manila to Bunker Hill to Temple-Beaudry, these were places that immigrants and seasonal migrants knew to go to for services, culture, and a sense of community. Royal "Uncle Roy" Morales can trace his family's roots to the Filipino Christian Church as his father immigrated to Los Angeles from the Philippines as a *pensionado* (scholar) and Christian missionary. Uncle Roy's

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<sup>10</sup> Bong Youn Choy, *Koreans in America* (Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1979). For general background on Korean American history.

<sup>11</sup> Michelle G. Magalong, "The Search for Filipino American Place(s) in Los Angeles," *UCLA Critical Planning Journal* 10 (2003):13–23.

father, Silvestre Morales, helped establish the Filipino Christian Fellowship on First and San Pedro Streets in 1928, then Filipino Christian Church (the first in the nation) in 1933.<sup>12</sup> The church was first established in the Bunker Hill area of Downtown and later moved to 301 North Union Street. The Filipino Christian Church, under the leadership of Uncle Roy, served as a cultural hub as it incubated other community institutions like Search to Involve Pilipino Americans, Pilipino American Reading Room and Library, and Filipino Cultural School.

### ***Thai Americans in Los Angeles***

From the first known arrival of Thai Americans to Los Angeles in the 1950s to the designation of Thai Town in East Hollywood in 1999, this community has been shaped by the city's growth and development in key areas like the entertainment industry and the culinary industry. Thai American community settlement patterns are traced through commercial development and foodways, notably with Thai restaurants that date to the 1970s.<sup>13</sup> When Thais arrived in Los Angeles, they reinvented and repackaged Thai food in various ways to meet the rising popularity of Thai cuisine in urban and suburban areas.<sup>14</sup> Thai immigration and settlement patterns, identities, and community structure has changed in a relatively short period of time in Los Angeles. This is seen in the city's built environment and through the establishment of Thai American culinary tourism and community identity. Institutions like Thai Community Development Center and Wat Thai were developed to meet the needs of the growing Thai American communities in Los Angeles.<sup>15</sup>

Bangkok Market opened its doors in 1971 in East Hollywood, established by Thai immigrant Pramorte "Pat" Tilakamonkul as the first Thai and Southeast Asian market in the United States. It provided Thai ingredients to a growing population of Thai Americans in Los Angeles in the 1960s and 70s. Before the existence of Bangkok Market, it was difficult to find Thai ingredients in the U.S. due to strict import policies. Tilamonkul and his business partners brokered deals with import/export companies to allow Thai ingredients to be imported in the country.<sup>16</sup> Bangkok Market also served as a de facto community center for Thai immigrants in Los Angeles.

### **Preserving Los Angeles's Asian America**

This MPDF documents five Asian American ethnic groups that have shaped the built environment and cultural landscape of Los Angeles. While little to date is documented or designated as historic landmarks or monuments under city, state, or federal programs, the MPDF provides an overview of the historic and cultural contributions of Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Filipino, and Thai Americans in Los Angeles.

Each of the five contexts provides great encouragement on reflection of the fifty years since the birth of "Asian America" and the subsequent efforts by these Los Angeles communities to create, preserve, and

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<sup>12</sup> Royal F. Morales, *Makibaka: The Pilipino American Struggle* (Los Angeles: Mountainview Publishers, 1974).

<sup>13</sup> In this document, foodways refers to eating habits and culinary practices as it relates to Asian Americans in Los Angeles.

<sup>14</sup> Mark Padoongpatt, *Flavors of Empire: Food and the Making of Thai America* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2017).

<sup>15</sup> Chanchanit Martorell, *Images of America: Thais in Los Angeles* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2011).

<sup>16</sup> Padoongpatt, *Flavors of Empire*.

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sustain historic and cultural roots. The MPDF serves as a platform through which communities can continue identifying, documenting, and preserving places, histories, and stories, within the five communities covered by this document, and across other AAPI ethnic groups that form part of Los Angeles' vast and diverse landscape.

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## **HISTORIC CONTEXT**

### **Introduction**

This context examines the migration, settlement, and development patterns of Chinese Americans in Los Angeles between 1850, the start of Chinese immigration to Los Angeles, to 1980, by which time the city's Chinese American population had dispersed while Chinatown's population increased by two-thirds as a result of new waves of immigration.

Los Angeles' first settlement of Chinese centered around Los Angeles Plaza, the original city settlement. Virtually nothing remains of Old Chinatown due to the construction of Los Angeles Union Station in the 1930s and later the 101 freeway. A second settlement south of Downtown in the area historically called City Market developed in response to Chinese entrepreneurship in truck farming and development of the wholesale produce industry. Almost nothing remains of this enclave due to demolitions over the years including demolition of the entire City Market. Development of the later Chinatown began in the 1930s. This context reveals that many important resources are located in Chinatown and are primarily associated with commercial and institutional development. Other important resources scattered throughout the city represent more recent periods of history.

Resources referenced throughout the context are considered extant unless otherwise noted.

### **Terms and Definitions**

With respect to proper names, transliterations into American English have evolved over time. For example, Guangdong, the south China province, was traditionally romanized as Kwangtung or Canton, while the provincial capital of Guangzhou was commonly known as Canton. Similarly, given names of individuals have been transliterated in various ways. For example, the name of Chinese leader Chiang Kai-shek—who himself used various names throughout his life—has been variously romanized as *Chiang Chieh-shih* and *Chiang Chungcheng*. During periods of strong anti-Asian sentiment, newly immigrated Chinese often took on American or Americanized names to emphasize their place in their new country, such as Lee Jun-fan who adopted the professional name Bruce Lee. With these factors in mind, this historic context attempts to use preferred terminology and modern spellings wherever possible.

### **Chinese Immigration to California, 1850-1870**

The California Gold Rush of 1848 prompted the earliest large-scale immigration of Chinese to the state. Although very few Chinese were living in California prior to 1850, by 1851 an estimated 25,000 Chinese had immigrated to California, engaged primarily in mining or merchandising.<sup>17</sup> The Gold Rush attracted Chinese like others around the world. The majority of these early immigrants were from Guangdong<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> There is documentation that Chinese fishermen and laborers were in western Mexico as early as 1571 and were building ships in Baja California from 1746 to 1781. Documents indicate that a Chinese male settled in what became Los Angeles as early as 1781. Information provided by Dr. Sue Fawn Chung, Project Advisory Committee member.

<sup>18</sup> Also transliterated as *Kwangtung* or *Canton*.

Province in southeast China.<sup>19</sup> Guangzhou, the province's capital city, was a main port for international commerce, taking part in the complex network of international exchanges between China and Europe, the Middle East, and other Asian countries.<sup>20</sup> Rural villages in Guangdong included farmers, doctors, clerks, merchants, carpenters, tailors, teachers, and salespersons.<sup>21</sup> On the Pearl River delta and nearby coast, many subsisted as fishermen and boatmen.<sup>22</sup>

Between 1787 and 1850, the population of Guangdong grew from 16 million to 28 million. Communities were increasingly stratified with large disparities between wealthy and poor. Between three and five percent of the population controlled 50 to 60 percent of cultivated land. After the Opium War with Great Britain of 1839-1840, China was also a semi-colonized country subject to Western influence in politics, economics, and culture. The unequal treaties that followed allowed imperialist powers to control international trade in coastal cities, establishing foreign settlements of international banks, commercial firms, and factories in Chinese urban centers, particularly Guangzhou. The opening of Western trade led to cash crop agriculture in place of subsistence farming,<sup>23</sup> as many farmers began growing tea, which could be sold at a good profit. The gradual inability of government to cope with increasing foreign intrusions, and the disruption of a centuries-old economic society, led to increasing economic and political instability among the peoples of the Pearl River delta and surrounding areas, which in turn led to dramatic fluctuations in family fortunes and growing fears for the future.<sup>24</sup> The Taiping Rebellion, a massive civil war lasting from 1850 to 1864, disrupted agricultural production, adding to the economic dislocation.<sup>25</sup>

For many Chinese, immigration to the western United States became a rational choice based on economic survival for the family, influenced by both domestic and international factors in the region. This recruiting system provided willing labor for the hardest jobs for grand American projects such as building railroads. Many Chinese immigrants during this period were from the lower middle or middle classes, who could afford the cost of passage across the ocean. Many of these immigrants likely had functional reading and writing ability, due to the rural public school system in China.<sup>26</sup> In many cases, Chinese immigrants practiced chain migration, where more established individuals exchanged information and experiences and provided initial accommodation and assistance to new arrivals.<sup>27</sup> Using this supportive system of immigration, a significant ratio of Chinese immigrants were also from lower economic classes, illiterate, and borrowed money or purchased transportation tickets on credit.

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<sup>19</sup> Wen-Hui Chung Chen, "Changing Social-Cultural Patterns of the Chinese Community in Los Angeles," University of Southern California Ph.D. diss., 1952, 29.

<sup>20</sup> Iris Chang, *The Chinese in America* (New York: Penguin Group, 2003), 26, 30.

<sup>21</sup> Haiming Liu, *The Transnational History of a Chinese Family* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2005), 14.

<sup>22</sup> Information provided by Munson Kwok, Project Advisory Committee member.

<sup>23</sup> Liu, *Transnational History*, 19.

<sup>24</sup> Information provided by Munson Kwok, Project Advisory Committee member.

<sup>25</sup> Liu, *Transnational History*, 14.

<sup>26</sup> Chang, *The Chinese in America*, 28.

<sup>27</sup> Liu, *Transnational History*, 2.

In the latter half of the nineteenth century, many Cantonese mercantile companies sought to expand their businesses by establishing stores in the United States. Often funded by relatives in Guangdong, young men immigrated to the western states to open outposts of established Chinese businesses, stocking them with products from their native county. Chinese workers were also actively solicited by Chinese labor companies, and by established American companies. Chinese were often encouraged to go abroad so they could then donate to the welfare of their clan<sup>28</sup> or county, especially to help fund western educational institutions, land expansion projects, and modernization projects.<sup>29</sup>

Attracted by employment opportunities in mining and railroad construction throughout California, waves of Chinese immigrants settled throughout California in the late nineteenth century. After gold was discovered in Coloma in 1848, thousands of Chinese arrived to seek work in the burgeoning mining industry. Between 1850 and 1870, approximately 8,000 Chinese arrived in the state yearly,<sup>30</sup> with the majority settling near established mining camps in Calaveras, El Dorado, and Amador counties in northern California. Most Chinese worked either as independent miners or for established Chinese-owned mining companies. Some worked for non-Chinese owned companies, and others contributed indirectly to the mining industry as merchants and suppliers of goods and services.<sup>31</sup>

By 1855, 20,000 of the 120,000 miners in California were Chinese. The 1860 Federal census showed that Chinese in California outnumbered immigrants from any other foreign country.<sup>32</sup> As the California Gold Rush waned, Chinese continued to represent a substantial majority of miners in the state. Of the fewer than 30,000 miners that remained in 1873, approximately 60 percent were Chinese.<sup>33</sup>

Chinese workers were also vital to building railroads, crucial to economic development in California. In 1863, work began on the first transcontinental railroad in the country, working eastward from Sacramento. In 1867, construction of the transcontinental railroad employed some 14,000 workers, approximately 12,000 of whom were Chinese.<sup>34</sup> Railroad construction was particularly important for the Chinese settling in Southern California. In the 1870s, the Southern Pacific Railroad began building lines that would eventually connect Los Angeles to points north, including San Francisco, and points east, including Tucson, El Paso, and New Orleans.

Circa 1881, knowing that the *Chinese Exclusion Act* was about to be approved, Southern Pacific's Charles Crocker wrote to Collis P. Huntington to inform him that they were bringing in 8,000 Chinese from

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<sup>28</sup> Clan refers to a group of Chinese people with a shared surname derived from a common ancestor. In many cases, people from the same clan also shared a common ancestral home and/or spoken Chinese dialect. Clan ties tend to be particularly strong in southern China.

<sup>29</sup> Information provided by Dr. Sue Fawn Chung, Project Advisory Committee member.

<sup>30</sup> "Chinese Laborers in the West," Smithsonian Asian Pacific American Center, accessed July 2013, <http://apa.si.edu/ongoldmountain/gallery2/gallery2.html> (site discontinued).

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

<sup>32</sup> The U.S. Census in these early decades often undercounted or did not count Chinese women for a variety of reasons. While the overwhelming majority of Chinese immigrants at this time were men, overall estimates of the Chinese population in California during this period may not be accurate.

<sup>33</sup> Chen, "Changing Social-Cultural Patterns," 33.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., 31.



Guangdong to work on the Tehachapi extension.<sup>35</sup> Between 1869 and 1900, Chinese also built many intrastate and interstate lines, including narrow gauge railroads that facilitated the shipping of produce and wood products.<sup>36</sup> Chinese workers were often given the most dangerous jobs, including dynamiting tunnels in mountains, and thousands lost their lives.



*Chinese workers constructing a railroad bridge, n.d. (Los Angeles Public Library, Security Pacific National Bank Collection).*

When the railroads were completed, scores of unemployed Chinese laborers migrated to California towns and cities looking for new employment. Many turned to entrepreneurial opportunities in industries less desirable to white Americans. Due in part to the perception that Chinese labor was easily exploited, an attitude promoted through railroad company advertisements and newspaper articles, American companies began actively recruiting workers in China for other industries.<sup>37</sup> The Chinese played a significant role in the industrialization of agriculture in California. Chinese laborers worked on reclaiming swampland by building levees, digging irrigation ditches, and building dikes. They were also employed in seasonal agricultural work, particularly during plowing and harvest seasons, and were prominent in the planting, distribution, and sale of produce. Orchards in northern California employed approximately 2,500 Chinese, typically working under the leadership of a Chinese organizer.<sup>38</sup> Chinese were also employed in fishing and manufacturing, particularly prior to the rise of labor organizing and unions in the state, and opened laundries or worked as domestic servants.

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<sup>35</sup> The *Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882* was the first legislation in the history of the United States to restrict immigration based on race or ethnicity.

<sup>36</sup> Information provided by Dr. Sue Fawn Chung, Project Advisory Committee member.

<sup>37</sup> Chang, *The Chinese in America*, 24, 125.

<sup>38</sup> Chen, "Changing Social-Cultural Patterns," 33-34.

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By the 1870s and 1880s, labor competition and the visible presence of large numbers of Chinese in California led to anti-Chinese movements. Chinese workers served as scapegoats to unify nascent labor movements in California. Beginning in 1870s, unions grew rapidly in California, often organizing around anti-Chinese slogans. As a result, Chinese began to congregate in ethnic enclaves in urban areas as protection from discrimination and violence from white residents. These Chinatowns allowed Chinese immigrants to support each other through common language and shared cultural experiences, while also allowing them to open businesses that created job opportunities without competing with white trade unions.<sup>39</sup> By the 1890s, the threat of violence, coupled with a declining Chinese population due to strict immigration laws, effectively reduced conflict between white and Chinese workers.<sup>40</sup>



Apablasa Street in Old Chinatown, n.d. (Los Angeles Public Library, Security Pacific National Bank Collection)

Many early Chinese immigrants lived out their working lives in the United States, not returning to China until their retirement. Approximately 47 percent of Chinese immigrants to the United States returned to China between 1850 and 1882, comparable to the return rate for European immigrants of the same period.<sup>41</sup> This trend was due in part to the expense of traveling across the Pacific. While ocean liners were making regularly scheduled trips between Hong Kong and San Francisco by the late nineteenth century,<sup>42</sup> frequent return trips were out of reach for most due to limited personal wealth. Other barriers included the uncertainty of return migration due to the passage of the *Chinese Exclusion Act* in 1882, which placed restrictions on re-entry of Chinese who left the United States, including limits on the time one could be abroad. Thus, even with the increasing ease of trans-Pacific transportation, the majority of Chinese opted to remain in the United States.<sup>43</sup>

Chinese were first recorded in Los Angeles in Federal census records from 1850.<sup>44</sup> Two Chinese were noted as living at the residence of Robert and Mary E. Haley: Alluce (18 years old) and Ah Fong (28 years old), apparently employed in domestic service.<sup>45</sup> The 1860 census records list at least two Chinese men, one employed as a domestic servant and the other in another occupation.<sup>46</sup> Over the next two decades,

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<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 74.

<sup>40</sup> Chang, *The Chinese in America*, 126.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, 31.

<sup>42</sup> Liu, *Transnational History*, 32.

<sup>43</sup> Information provided by Dr. Sue Fawn Chung, Project Advisory Committee member.

<sup>44</sup> William Mason, *The Chinese in Los Angeles*, 1976 Chinese Chamber of Commerce Souvenir Book (Los Angeles: Chinese Chamber of Commerce, 1976), 7.

<sup>45</sup> Chen, "Changing Social-Cultural Patterns," 51.

<sup>46</sup> Information provided by Dr. Sue Fawn Chung, Project Advisory Committee member.

a small number of Chinese men came to Los Angeles—most of them relocating from San Francisco—and were employed as domestic servants, agricultural hands, and railroad workers.<sup>47</sup> Immigration by Chinese women was extremely rare during this period, so much so that the arrival of the first Chinese woman in Los Angeles in 1859 received the attention of the *Los Angeles Star*.<sup>48</sup>

### **Early Settlement: Los Angeles' First Chinatown, 1870-1933**

The earliest enclave of Chinese in Los Angeles centered around Los Angeles Plaza (*El Pueblo de Los Angeles*), the original settlement of the City of Los Angeles, bounded by North Spring Street, Cesar Chavez Avenue, Alameda Street, and Arcadia Street.<sup>49</sup> Much of this acreage was originally owned by the Apablaza family and used as agricultural land planted with orchards and vineyards. Even as the land was subdivided and leased, its use remained agricultural.<sup>50</sup> The Apablaza family became the main lessors to the Chinese community for several decades.



*Old Chinatown, circa 1900 (Los Angeles Public Library, Security Pacific National Bank Collection).*

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<sup>47</sup> Leonard and Dale Pitt, *Los Angeles A to Z: An Encyclopedia of the City and County* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1997), 90.

<sup>48</sup> Asian American Studies Center; University of California, Los Angeles; and the Chinese Historical Society of Southern California. *Linking Our Lives: Chinese American Women of Los Angeles* (Los Angeles: Chinese Historical Society of Southern California, 1984), 1.

<sup>49</sup> Los Angeles Plaza is City of Los Angeles Historic-Cultural Monument No. 64 as Los Angeles Plaza Park, and California Historical Landmark No. 156 as Los Angeles Plaza. The area is also listed in the National Register of Historic Places as the Los Angeles Plaza Historic District.

<sup>50</sup> Roberta S. Greenwood, *Down by the Station: Los Angeles Chinatown 1880-1933* (Los Angeles: Institute of Archaeology, University of California, Los Angeles, 1996), 5.

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The earliest permanent Chinese settlement was concentrated along Calle de los Negros, a block-long, 50-foot wide alley between the Plaza and Arcadia Street to the south, roughly parallel to and just east of North Los Angeles Street. Within 30 years, the enclave expanded to about 20 blocks. Referred to as Old Chinatown, the area became the center of the Chinese community in Los Angeles, and included living quarters, places of employment, religious institutions, and meeting halls for community organizations. Although almost nothing remains of Old Chinatown, its history is important to understanding later settlements.

By 1870, nearly 200 Chinese were living in Alley Chinatown, along with various other ethnic groups, including French and Italian immigrants, as well as Mexicans and Native Americans that predated California's admission to the United States in 1850.<sup>51</sup> Anglo American officials allowed prostitution, opium use, and gambling to cluster in Chinatown and adjacent streets, in part to keep these vices out of other neighborhoods.<sup>52</sup> Establishments that accommodated these activities were patronized by people of various ethnicities, which increased ethnic tensions while also giving the area an eclectic appearance.<sup>53</sup>

Despite the relatively small numbers of Chinese living in Los Angeles at this time, anti-Chinese sentiment was growing in Los Angeles and across the western United States. Amid these long-standing racial tensions, on October 24, 1871, a mob of some 500 Anglos, Europeans, and Mexicans entered Chinatown and began rioting, looting, and setting fire to the area. During the riot, seventeen Chinese residents were tortured and hanged, making it the largest mass lynching in American history. Known as *The Chinese Massacre*, the riot was



*Apablaza Street in Old Chinatown, n.d. (Los Angeles Public Library, Security Pacific National Bank Collection).*

allegedly incited by the killing of Robert Thompson, who was caught in crossfire between two Chinese companies over the abduction of a Chinese woman, Yut Ho.<sup>54</sup> Of the ten rioters brought to trial, eight

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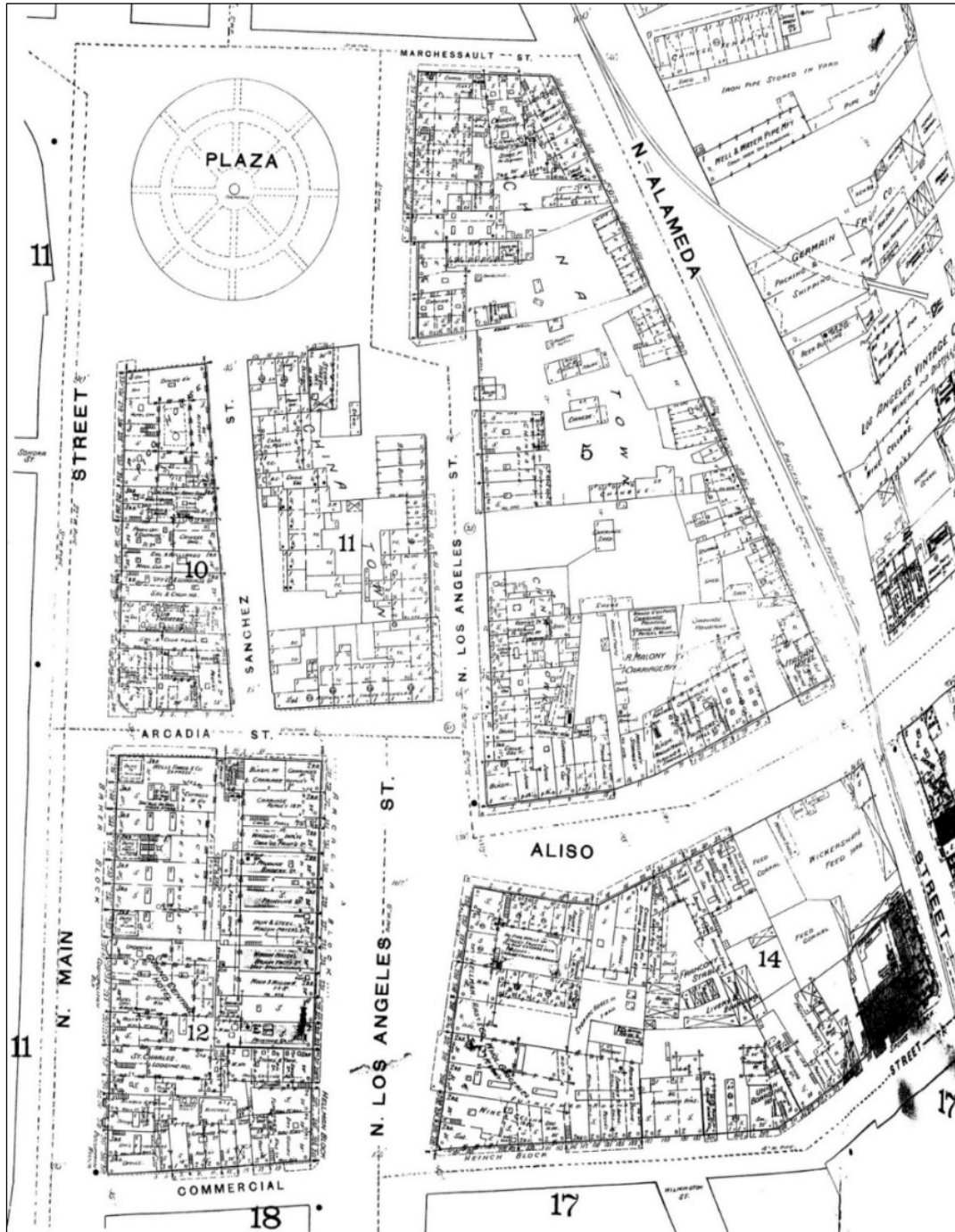
<sup>51</sup> Chen, "Changing Social-Cultural Patterns," 75.

<sup>52</sup> Sanborn maps of the period show the clustering of these activities beyond Old Chinatown, extending southward along Alameda. Official agreements between locals and law enforcement included the payment of fees and the arrangement of mutually agreed upon raids to uphold the appearance of police vigilance. Information provided by Munson Kwok, Project Advisory Committee member.

<sup>53</sup> Mark Wild, *Street Meeting: Multiethnic Neighborhoods in Early Twentieth-Century Los Angeles* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 16.

<sup>54</sup> Chinese companies were a type of club or gang that offered support to the Chinese in America. During this period, some companies were tied to criminal activity. John Johnson, Jr., "How Los Angeles Covered Up the Massacre of 17 Chinese," *L.A.*

were convicted, only to have their sentences overturned on legal technicalities. While the press and public officials attempted to characterize the mob as unruly thugs and hoodlums, evidence suggests that police and prominent Los Angeles residents either ignored the violence or participated in the lynching.



Sanborn map of Los Angeles' Chinatown, 1888. (Environmental Data Resources, Inc., Sanborn Digital Maps).

Weekly, March 10, 2011. Scott Zesch, *The Chinatown War: Chinese Los Angeles and the Massacre of 1871* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

Despite violence and discrimination perpetrated against them, Chinese continued to settle and prosper in Los Angeles. By 1880, the Chinese population totaled more than 500, and Chinese were the largest ethnic minority group in the city.<sup>55</sup> Over time, Chinatown expanded to encompass the Plaza, extending north to Macy Street (later Cesar Chavez Avenue), south to Arcadia and Aliso Streets, west to North Main Street, and across Alameda Street on the east, where Union Station was built. The community's primary commercial streets were Marchessault and Apablaza Streets (no longer extant), home to numerous neighborhood businesses, generally owned by and catering to the Chinese community. Businesses included markets, restaurants, laundries, herbalists, dry good shops, and theaters.<sup>56</sup>



*Old Chinatown, n.d. (Los Angeles Public Library, Security Pacific National Bank Collection).*

A network of narrow streets and dense, two-story buildings were constructed to serve residential and commercial uses.<sup>57</sup> Most buildings were constructed of unreinforced masonry with wood balconies on primary façades, and designed in styles typical of the era's commercial landscape. The majority of residents were Chinese men, working as launderers, truck farmers, and vegetable peddlers.<sup>58</sup> These occupations were popular among newly arrived Chinese immigrants because they required relatively little capital to establish, and allowed Chinese to act as entrepreneurs rather than employees. Scattered in rural areas, the Chinese farmers did not seem to threaten the Anglo-American community as much as the Chinese in densely populated urban areas and the much needed produce contribution was

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<sup>55</sup> Chen, "Changing Social-Cultural Patterns," 78.

<sup>56</sup> Suellen Cheng and Munson Kwok, "The Golden Years of Los Angeles Chinatown: The Beginning," *Los Angeles Chinatown 50<sup>th</sup> Year Guidebook* (Los Angeles: Chinese Historical Society of Southern California, June 1988, 39), accessed July 2013, [www.oldchinatownla.com/history.html](http://www.oldchinatownla.com/history.html).

<sup>57</sup> Cecil Smith, "Old Chinatown Prepares to Die," *Los Angeles Times*, June 27, 1949.

<sup>58</sup> Cheng and Kwok, "The Golden Years," 39.

welcomed by the majority population.<sup>59</sup> The earliest market garden farmers led to the first produce market of Chinese vegetable peddlers gathered around the Plaza by 1900.<sup>60</sup>

After fire consumed the majority of buildings on Negro Alley in 1887, Chinatown gradually shifted east of Alameda Street. Situated along the Southern Pacific Railroad tracks, this land was relatively undeveloped and not considered very valuable due to nearby gas works and periodic flooding of the Los Angeles River. By 1890, an area that had previously been primarily industrial housed over 1,000 residents, with nearly 200 buildings on fifteen streets. Of 1,781 Chinese living in Los Angeles, 1,261 lived in Ward 8, encompassing Chinatown.<sup>61</sup> Non-Chinese residents also continued to live in Chinatown, including Irish, German, and Mexican immigrants.<sup>62</sup>

As Chinese put down roots in Los Angeles, they continued to practice many of their cultural traditions, and foremost among these was the practice of herbal medicine. Herbal medicine was both familiar and likely the only medical treatment available to early immigrants, as Chinese were often denied access to public medical facilities.<sup>63</sup> It was also a rare example of a profession that allowed Chinese immigrants to make a long-term living using an ethnic skill.<sup>64</sup> By the 1860s and 1870s, trained Chinese physicians began coming to California to treat Chinese patients. Most practitioners were trained herbalists, having studied under master herbalists in China, and many were descended from long lines of herbal doctors.<sup>65</sup>

Chinese living in the rugged mining settlements of northern California adapted their medical knowledge to native California species in order to supplement their limited supplies.<sup>66</sup> In the 1870s and 1880s, as Chinese began to settle in Los Angeles' Old Chinatown, grocery stores catering to Chinese customers frequently stocked medicines on the shelves for self-treatment or for filling prescriptions from herbal doctors. Successful entrepreneurs established import networks and set up mail order businesses to ensure a steady supply of medicines from China. Legislation that prevented Chinese herbal doctors from becoming licensed physicians left them vulnerable to lawsuits and arrests. As a result, Chinese herbal doctors often promoted their businesses as merchants selling herbs, rather than as medical professionals.<sup>67</sup> Even in Chinatown, practitioners kept a low profile, often occupying nondescript storefronts or operating out of residences.

Early Chinese immigrants in Los Angeles also established their own burial customs based on traditional Chinese practices. Public health laws prohibited Chinese from burying their dead in most of the city's

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<sup>59</sup> Cecilia M. Tsu, *Garden of the World: Asian Immigrants and the Making of Agriculture in California's Santa Clara Valley* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013).

<sup>60</sup> Information provided by Munson Kwok, Project Advisory Committee member.

<sup>61</sup> A ward is an area of a city or county as defined by the U.S. Census Bureau. Before the development of the later census geography, city voting wards were used as census divisions.

<sup>62</sup> Greenwood, *Down by the Station*, 13, 20.

<sup>63</sup> William M. Bowen, "The Five Eras of Chinese Medicine in California," in *The Chinese in America: A History from Gold Mountain to the New Millennium*, ed. Susie Lan Cassel (Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 2002), 174.

<sup>64</sup> Liu, *Transnational History*, 4.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, 49.

<sup>66</sup> Bowen, "The Five Eras," 176.

<sup>67</sup> Liu, *Transnational History*, 50.

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cemeteries. To accommodate the burial needs of the Chinese community, in 1870 a small section of a cemetery at nearby Fort Moore Hill (not extant) was set aside for use by Chinese residents.<sup>68</sup> By the late 1880s, an additional Chinese cemetery called Potter's Field was opened in the nine-acre City-owned (southwestern) section of Evergreen Cemetery (204 N. Evergreen Avenue), east of Chinatown in the Boyle Heights neighborhood. For reasons of public health, this cemetery was located at what was then the eastern edge of the city. In 1888, Chinese residents financed and constructed a cemetery shrine in the cemetery (City of Los Angeles Historic-Cultural Monument No. 486). The shrine included an altar platform, twelve-foot kilns, and memorial stones used for funeral ceremonies and seasonal rites and festivals.<sup>69</sup>

Many early Chinese immigrants maintained their religious traditions, primarily Confucianism, Daoism, and Buddhism.<sup>70</sup> These traditions have extensive roots in Chinese society and were brought to Los Angeles by newly arrived immigrants and sustained in



*Los Angeles Chinese Cemetery Shrine at Evergreen Cemetery, circa 1900. (University of Southern California Digital Collections).*



*Kwan Gung Temple at the Kong Chow Benevolent Association in Old Chinatown, circa 1933. (University of Southern California Digital Collections).*

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<sup>68</sup> The cemetery at Fort Moore Hill was located approximately at the intersection of North Hill Street and Cesar Chavez Avenue. The Fort Moore Pioneer Memorial (1957) is located at 451 N. Hill Street.

<sup>69</sup> As at most cemeteries of the period, there was segregation in death. Between 1877 and 1924, indigents were buried at Evergreen Cemetery at no cost, and the Chinese had to pay \$10 per burial to be placed in the pauper's section. In 1917, the City sold the nine acres of cemetery land to the County of Los Angeles. In 1923, the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association established a new Chinese Cemetery on East First Street and Eastern Avenue in unincorporated Los Angeles County. The County then requested that all Chinese bodies (approximately 902) be moved to the new cemetery. In 2006, during extension of the Gold Line rail system, the Los Angeles Metropolitan Transportation Authority (who then owned the land) excavators found an additional 108 Chinese skeletons that apparently had not been moved to the new site in the 1920s. Sue Fawn Chung, "An Ocean Apart: Chinese American Burial Practices," in *Till Death Do Us Part: American Ethnic Cemeteries and Borders Uncrossed*, Kami Fletcher and Allan Amanik, eds. (Jackson, Mississippi: University of Mississippi Press, 2017).

<sup>70</sup> The Chinese have combined the three teachings of Daoism, Confucianism, and Buddhism since the Song Dynasty (960-1279). In an attempt to appeal to a wider segment of the Chinese population, temples seldom catered to just one of the beliefs. Information provided by Sue Fawn Chung, Project Advisory Committee member.



homes, businesses, and houses of worship throughout Chinatown.<sup>71</sup> The earliest locations of religious practice were small shrines set up in boarding houses or commercial buildings. By 1875, Chinese residents had established at least one temple in Chinatown, located on Negro Alley, and incorporating aspects of Daoist, Buddhist, Confucian, and other beliefs from their home provinces.<sup>72</sup> By 1894, there were two temples in Los Angeles located at 217½ Ferguson Alley and 430½ North Los Angeles Street (both demolished). Around the turn of the twentieth century—as Anglo Americans increasingly began to view Old Chinatown as a tourist destination—public temples declined in religious function for Chinese residents and became geared toward tourists.<sup>73</sup>

Christian churches were also developing in Chinatown at this time. Christian missionaries began proselytizing to Chinese immigrants nearly as soon as they arrived in California. Evangelizing typically began as English language classes combined with religious instruction. Los Angeles First Methodist Church and the First Baptist Church of Los Angeles were among the first congregations to develop Sunday schools and language ministries in Chinatown for instruction of Chinese residents in Christian doctrine.<sup>74</sup> For some, conversion to Christianity was viewed as a means to counteract xenophobia and discrimination. Churches also served an important community function providing youth and social welfare programs. As the Chinese community became more established in Los Angeles, Chinese Americans demanded increasing autonomy for their own Christian congregations, and served as clergy and lay leaders in their communities.

The Garnier Building (409-424 North Los Angeles Street) is the oldest surviving building associated with Old Chinatown and the Chinese population in Southern California.<sup>75</sup> Built by French-Basque immigrant Philippe Garnier in 1890, the building functioned as an unofficial city hall for Chinatown. The first floor and mezzanine level housed commercial uses, such as the Sun Wing Wo Company herbal store, and the second floor housed a variety of social, fraternal, religious, and civic organizations over the years. Garnier began leasing the building to Chinese merchants even before its construction was complete, and it remained occupied exclusively by Chinese tenants until its closure in 1954. The building is home to the Chinese American Museum (CAM), and includes a re-creation of the Sun Wing Wo herbal store. The Garnier Building is a contributor to the National Register-listed Los Angeles Plaza Historic District.<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>71</sup> Michael E. Engh, *Frontier Faiths: Church, Temple and Synagogue in Los Angeles, 1846-1888* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1992).

<sup>72</sup> Temples in California's Chinatowns were often called joss houses in English-language newspapers. Joss has its origins in the Portuguese *deus*, or *god*, and was not the term used by Chinese residents to describe their places of worship.

<sup>73</sup> Chen, "Changing Social-Cultural Patterns," 283-284.

<sup>74</sup> George H. Singleton, *Religion in the City of Angels: American Protestant Culture and Urbanization, Los Angeles, 1850-1930* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Research Press, 1979).

<sup>75</sup> The southern portion of the Garnier Building was demolished in the 1950s for construction of the Hollywood (101) Freeway.

<sup>76</sup> The Garnier Building is not individually designated for its association with Chinese Americans.



*Garnier Building, n.d. Los Angeles Public Library, Security Pacific National Bank Collection.*

Of particular importance to the establishment of California's Chinatowns were the various community organizations that provided a support network for Chinese immigrants who lacked both police protection and political representation. Appearing as early as the mid-nineteenth century, Chinese American associations traditionally called *tongs* were based on shared family kinships or geographical origins.<sup>77</sup> The first immigrant organizations to form in California were district associations, or *huiguan*, with memberships composed of individuals with shared regional origins in China.<sup>78</sup> Often called companies by white observers, most of these associations first formed in San Francisco—including the Sam Yup Company, Sze Yup Company, Ning Yung Company, Young Wo Company, and Sun On Company—all formed branches in Los Angeles' Chinatown in the late nineteenth century. The most notorious organizations in Chinatowns were the *tong* (literally "meeting hall" or "association") groups often, not always connected with secret societies or brotherhoods that had no birthplace or family name requirements. *Tongs* offered benefits that included protection, and health and funerary benefits, and recreational activities like opium dens, gambling halls, and prostitution facilities, which bolstered their treasury. Sometimes men joined when they were excluded from the other associations. Some transferred their hostilities to another group based on rivalries originating in China. The *tong* wars made news and were usually limited to within the Chinese community although occasionally the fighting spilled over to include non-Chinese.

District and family associations served as banks, employment centers, and de facto governments. They offered loans, helped new arrivals find jobs, mediated disputes, and even policed illicit activities.

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<sup>77</sup> *Tong* means meeting hall or association. Some *tongs* are secret societies or fraternal organizations that do not require birthplace or name as a qualification for membership. A *tong* member was not necessarily from the lower class. *Tongs* often provided protection and welfare benefits. Special *tongs* had had the job of buying cemetery property and arranging for burials, exhumation, and reburials in one's birthplace (for men; for women in their husband's birthplace).

<sup>78</sup> Peter Kwong and Dusanka Miscevic, *Chinese America: The Untold Story of America's Oldest New Community* (New York, NY: The New York Press, 2005), 83.

Associations also provided for community welfare through medical and hospitalization services, educational programs, transmitting news to the Chinese community, and fighting against anti-Chinese legislation. One of the most important functions was the establishment of subsidiary funerary associations that handled the purchase of Chinese-only cemetery plots, the sponsorship of funerals and burial rituals, the exhumation of the deceased after three to seven years for reburial in one's home village/town, and the expenses involved in the shipping and reburial of the bones.<sup>79</sup>

By the early twentieth century, as the Chinese American community became more established, associations began playing a more philanthropic role within the community, and functioned more like benevolent associations. Modelled after San Francisco's Chinese organizations in the 1850s, several of the established regional and family associations integrated to form the Los Angeles branch of the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association (CCBA) in 1889.<sup>80</sup> CCBA, housed in the Garnier Building, served as a major resettlement agency to assist Chinese immigrants in adjusting to new life in Los Angeles.<sup>81</sup>

In Chinatown, benevolent associations occupied buildings along major commercial streets, often sharing space with shops and boarding houses. The associations even built their own jail to house those who had committed crimes or instigated *tong* wars. Over time, more established associations constructed their own buildings, which typically contained meeting halls and shrines on the first and second floors, with boarding rooms for members above. The Los Angeles branch of the Kong Chow Benevolent Association was founded in 1889 in a small two-story building on Ferguson Alley in Old Chinatown (not extant). The first floor served as the association hall and meeting space, while the second floor was reserved for a Buddhist temple run by the association.

The primary rival in community power to the benevolent association in the early decades was the Chee Kong Tong (*Zhigongtang*), or Chinese Free Masons, a brotherhood dedicated at first to the overthrow of the Manchu government and then, in 1911, to the support of the Republic of China under Sun Yat-sen. A splinter group, the Bing Kong Tong (*Bingongtang*), also calling itself the 2<sup>nd</sup> Chinese Free Masons since the rituals both stemmed from the western/British Free Masons, was more interested in gambling, opium, and prostitution and therefore was wealthier. Both had their local headquarters in Chinatown. In the early twentieth century, the Chee Kong Tong was located on Apalbaso Street while the Bing Kong Tong was on North Broadway (neither extant).<sup>82</sup>

Other organizations established in Chinatown during this period include those whose mission focused on political causes, business interests, and recreational programs. The Chinese American Citizens Alliance

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<sup>79</sup> Chung, "An Ocean Apart.

<sup>80</sup> Kwong and Miscevic, *Chinese America*, 87.

<sup>81</sup> Icy Smith, *The Lonely Queue: The Forgotten History of the Courageous Chinese Americans in Los Angeles* (Gardena, CA: East West Discovery Press, 2001), 25.

<sup>82</sup> Sue Fawn Chung, "The Zhigongtang in the United States, 1860-1949," in *Empire, National, and Beyond: Chinese History in Later Imperial and Modern Times*, Wen-hsin Yeh and Joseph Eshrick, eds. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 231-249.

(Alliance) was founded in San Francisco in 1895, with the Los Angeles branch established in the Garnier Building in 1912.<sup>83</sup> Because membership in the Alliance was limited to U.S. citizens—American-born Chinese or American citizens of Chinese descent—the Alliance had significant influence in American politics and worked against discriminatory legislation, particularly related to restrictions on voting rights.<sup>84</sup> They worked against discriminatory legislation, including the loss of citizenship of Chinese American-born women who married Chinese aliens, immigrations regulations, and restrictions on voting rights.

By the late 1880s, non-Chinese Americans became increasingly drawn to Chinatown's unique commercial identity. An 1887 *Los Angeles Times* article stated, "Los Angeles' Chinatown is a magnet which claims almost every tourist in southern California," perceiving the area as "a facsimile of Canton."<sup>85</sup> By the 1890s, new Chinese-owned businesses catering to people outside of the Chinatown community—such as gift shops and restaurants serving uniquely Americanized entrees like chop suey—opened alongside existing shops serving Chinese residents.<sup>86</sup>

Entertainment and performance were important parts of community life for Los Angeles' Chinese community. Chinatown included a theater that hired performers from China and hosted vaudeville shows featuring Chinese entertainers. Some Chinese performers found employment in the burgeoning movie industry. By 1915, the local film industry was coalescing into a major economic force, and the proximity of Chinatown to Hollywood movie studios created opportunities for Chinese and Chinese American actors, directors, and producers. Some of the earliest silent films featured Chinese acrobats and opera singers as curiosities.

Early narrative films relied heavily on racial stereotypes, and Chinese characters were frequently depicted as mysterious, exotic, and possibly dangerous.<sup>87</sup> The availability of roles for Chinese actors was extremely limited, as Asian characters in lead roles were typically given to white actors playing in yellowface.<sup>88</sup> Actor Willie Fung was one of the most prolific Chinese American actors of the silent era, with 128 film credits, yet he played almost exclusively unnamed characters or stereotypical laundrymen and servants.<sup>89</sup> In addition to employing residents of Chinatown, Chinese culture was appropriated broadly to convey a sense of foreignness or exoticism without dialogue. Vaguely Asian sets and costumes often drew indiscriminately from Chinese and Japanese sources. For larger productions, filmmakers shot on location in Chinatown itself, hiring local residents to play background characters.

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<sup>83</sup> Chinese American Citizens Alliance, accessed July 2013, <http://www.cacanational.org/history> (site discontinued).

<sup>84</sup> Kwong and Miscevic, *Chinese America*, 125.

<sup>85</sup> "What They Eat," *Los Angeles Times*, September 25, 1887, 14.

<sup>86</sup> "In Our Cathay: Sketches and Snap-shots in Chinatown," *Los Angeles Times*, December 4, 1898, 6; Yong Chen, *Chop Suey, USA: The Story of Chinese Food in America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014).

<sup>87</sup> Benson Tong, *The Chinese Americans* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2000), 201.

<sup>88</sup> Yellowface has been in use since the 1950s to describe the casting of white actors in lead Asian and Asian American roles, typically with the use of heavy makeup to simulate an Asian appearance.

<sup>89</sup> Krystyn Moon, *Yellowface: Creating the Chinese in American Popular Music and Performance, 1850s-1920s* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2005).

In the 1920s and 1930s, screen images of Chinese were typically demonized, ridiculed, or over-sexualized, reflecting the anxieties of white audiences rather than any reality of Chinese American culture. Chinese Americans pushed back against Hollywood's racist portrayals of Chinese by demanding better roles, directing and producing their own films, and establishing talent agencies. As early as the 1910s, Chinese Americans were producing their own films. In 1917, Chinese American director Marion Wong created *The Curse of Quon Gwon*, the earliest known Chinese American feature film and one of the earliest films directed by a woman. By the 1930s, Chinese Americans had established their own film production company, Grandview Films in San Francisco, which produced more than one hundred feature films using Chinese actors and directors.

Pioneering Chinese American director Esther Eng worked frequently with Grandview Films in the 1930s and 1940s, and became the first female director to direct Chinese-language films in the United States. She completed ten feature films between the ages of 21 and 35, five in the United States and five in Hong Kong. Her film *Golden Gate Girl* (1941) featured a young Bruce Lee in one of his first roles. Working behind the camera, James Wong Howe established himself as one of the most successful and influential cinematographers in Hollywood. Starting in the photography department at the Famous Players-Lasky Studios, he was recruited to work as a camera assistant for Cecil B. DeMille.<sup>90</sup> Learning the trade on set, Howe became known as a master of shadow and deep focus, earning ten Academy Awards nominations, and winning twice.

Anna May Wong was one of the best-known Chinese American actors of her generation. Born in Old Chinatown in 1905, Wong played the lead role in *The Toll of the Sea* (1922), which launched her career as the first Chinese American movie star. Outspoken about her frustration with the roles she was offered by Hollywood studios, she alternated between Europe and Los Angeles, acting and advocating for better depictions of Chinese in film. In 1926, she starred in *The Silk Bouquet*, a film financed by the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association and produced for Chinese American audiences. In 1952, she starred in the television series *The Gallery of Madame Liu-Tsong*, making it the first television program with an Asian American lead.<sup>91</sup> She also established her own short-lived production company in Los Angeles, Anna May Wong Productions, to produce films with realistic and positive images of Chinese Americans. Other notable Chinese Americans working in Los Angeles' entertainment industry during this period include casting agent and actress Jane Beverly Chung; actor Benson Fong; vaudeville performer, actor, and singer Lee Tung Foo; casting director and talent agent Bessie Loo; actor Richard Loo; actor and artist Keye Luke; and actor Victor Sen Yung. Chinese American actors also formed their own groups within the film industry workers' unions, such as the Chinese Group of the Screen Actors Guild.

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<sup>90</sup> Robert G. Lee, *Orientalism: Asian Americans in Popular Culture* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2002).

<sup>91</sup> Robert G. Lee, *Orientalism*.



*Dragon's Den in Old Chinatown, n.d. Los Angeles Public Library, Harry Quillen Collection.*

Over time, the relationship between Los Angeles' Chinese American community and the entertainment industry became a mutually beneficial one. As the entertainment industry became more established, Chinese American-owned restaurants and night clubs in Chinatown and elsewhere in Los Angeles became popular destinations for Hollywood actors, directors, and producers. The well-known Dragon's Den restaurant was in the basement of the F. Suie One Company, an Asian antique store. The building at the corner of Sunset Boulevard and Los Angeles Street (not extant) featured murals by Tyrus Wong, a Chinese American artist and illustrator who created animations for Disney and Warner

Bros. and designed Christmas cards for Hallmark, as well as other artistic endeavors.<sup>92</sup>

Despite Chinatown's vibrant character and increasing popularity among tourists, the neighborhood also faced a number of challenges that escalated in the 1890s.<sup>93</sup> Due to its location in flatlands near the Los Angeles River, Chinatown frequently flooded, a problem exacerbated by the area's unpaved streets.<sup>94</sup> Chinatown also had a public image problem. Descriptions of the area as "a scene of bloody race riots and tong wars" were not uncommon during this period.<sup>95</sup> While numerous Chinese American organizations served positive roles in the community, notably the many benevolent associations, secret societies and their violent altercations often received more publicity. This adversely affected perceptions of Chinatown among non-Chinese Americans, contributing to a decline in tourism.<sup>96</sup>

According to the 1900 U.S. Federal Census, Los Angeles had 2,111 Chinese residents, the fourth largest Chinese community in the United States.<sup>97</sup> Despite its density, few public services were available in Chinatown. As late as 1922, only two of the area's fifteen streets were paved.<sup>98</sup> Additional factors, such as the lack of a sewage system, contributed to deteriorating health and housing conditions in Chinatown. In 1916, the State Commission of Immigration found that 878 of 1,572 households in the

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<sup>92</sup> Pamela Tom, director "Tyrus: A Biography," PBS 2017. Chinese American artists Milton Quon and Cy Young also worked for Walt Disney Studios. See the exhibition brochure by Sonia Mak, *Round the Clock: Chinese American Artists Working in Los Angeles* (Monterey Park, CA: Vincent Price Art Museum and East Los Angeles College, 2012) published in conjunction with a 2012 exhibition of the same name at the Vincent Price Art Museum. Presented as part of the exhibition series "Pacific Standard Time: Art in L.A.: 1945-1980."

<sup>93</sup> "The Chinese Vendetta: A War-cloud Hovering Over Chinatown," *Los Angeles Times*, May 22, 1890, 4.

<sup>94</sup> Cheng and Kwok, "The Golden Years," 34.

<sup>95</sup> Carroll O'Meara, "Chinatown," *Los Angeles Times*, May 10, 1931.

<sup>96</sup> Stanford Morris Lyman, *Chinatown and Little Tokyo: Power, Conflict, and Community Among Chinese and Japanese Immigrants in America* (Milwood, NY: Associated Faculty Press, Inc., 1986), 134.

<sup>97</sup> Liu, *Transnational*, 34.

<sup>98</sup> Greenwood, *Down by the Station*, 17.

area were completely dark and windowless.<sup>99</sup> By refusing to provide public services, City officials were able to argue that Chinatown's filth and disease posed health threat, thereby making the area a target for land clearance.

Legislation such as the *California Alien Land Law of 1913* prohibited Chinese from owning property in the state, which put the Chinatown community in the precarious position of being lessees to large landholders. Without the stability provided by land ownership, the threat of relocation was always present. As early as 1913, the area encompassing Chinatown was proposed for conversion into a warehouse and industrial district with a new railway terminal.<sup>100</sup> Public opinion of proposals to demolish Chinatown for a new station was generally positive throughout the city, due in part to anti-Chinese sentiment, as well as the perception of Chinatown as a dangerous and undesirable area. As described in a 1926 *Los Angeles Times* editorial advocating for the development of what would become Union Station, "the station will form the north side of the magnificent main quadrangle of the new Civic Center...The Civic Center will forever do away with Chinatown and its environs."<sup>101</sup>

From the mid-1910s until the early 1930s, Chinese civic leaders and investors struggled to acquire property in Chinatown to protect the community. Sensing the inevitable, many Chinese residents and businesses relocated to secondary Chinese neighborhoods that began to develop in the early 1900s. Although the proposal for the new railway terminal was embroiled in legal disputes for many years, the California Supreme Court upheld the approval of land condemnations for Chinatown in 1931. Within two years, much of Chinatown was demolished, and by 1934, the construction of Union Station was underway.<sup>102</sup> This displacement came at a time when there were close to 3,000 Chinese and Chinese Americans living in Los Angeles, the fourth largest Chinese community in the United States.<sup>103</sup> A few Old Chinatown buildings were spared at the time, but most of these were ultimately demolished in the early 1950s to make way for the extension of the Hollywood (101) Freeway.

### **Agriculture and Farming, 1870-1950**

As early as the 1850s, Chinese in California began to cultivate and sell produce. They established themselves as independent owner-operators of farms ranging from one to twenty acres and traveled substantial distances to provide fresh produce to the large numbers of miners concentrated in northern California. As increasing numbers of Chinese left the mining industry and began migrating south, Los Angeles became a hub for entrepreneurial Chinese vegetable peddlers and truck farmers.<sup>104</sup> By the 1880s, Chinese had achieved prominence in these areas, making up almost 90 percent of the truck and

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<sup>99</sup> *Linking Our Lives*, 14-15.

<sup>100</sup> Cheng and Kwok, "The Golden Years," 40.

<sup>101</sup> "Fabrications vs. Facts," *Los Angeles Times*, April 28, 1926.

<sup>102</sup> Cheng and Kwok, "The Golden Years," 40.

<sup>103</sup> Los Angeles Conservancy, "Exploring Chinatown Past and Present" (booklet produced in conjunction with a tour held on April 17, 2016), 3, 8.

<sup>104</sup> Immigrant truck farms, which cultivated garden vegetables for sale in markets, were often called gardens because they were smaller than typical American farms.

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market farmers in the Los Angeles County.<sup>105</sup> These entrepreneurs served an important function in the local food supply chain by bringing produce cultivated in suburban farms to neighborhoods in Downtown Los Angeles. Early Chinese farmers sold their produce to their own community directly, often through house-to-house sales, as well as to local restaurants.

The earliest farms were small plots surrounding Chinatown. As Chinatown developed into a populous residential and commercial center, Chinese entrepreneurs moved to farms outside of the urban center, migrating westward toward Santa Monica Bay, and southward to South Los Angeles and the communities of Watts, Wilmington, and San Pedro. Small Chinese farms also appeared in areas outside the city of Los Angeles, such as Lynwood and Compton to the south, and El Monte and La Puente to the east. Later, with



*Chinese American farmer in the San Fernando Valley, circa 1917.  
Los Angeles Public Library, Shades of L.A. Collection.*

the coming of water, Chinese also farmed in the San Fernando Valley. Farmers produced a wide range of crops including potatoes, sweet corn, hay, alfalfa, sweet potatoes, squash, pumpkin, watermelon, cabbage, cauliflower, asparagus, and especially Chinese vegetables.

Chinese farmers were a visible and important part of the Los Angeles economy through the twentieth century and established themselves as a powerful political group. As anti-Chinese sentiment grew throughout California in the 1880s, local political figures promoting racist immigration and hiring policies called for a citywide boycott on Chinese-owned businesses and Chinese workers in 1886. In response, Chinese truck farmers organized a counter boycott of related businesses, which quickly put an end to the initial boycott.<sup>106</sup> The ability of the Chinese immigrant community to uphold such a boycott speaks to the extensive network of supportive social institutions that had been established in Old Chinatown.

In the 1920s, many Chinese entered asparagus farming in areas from the areas of Chatsworth to North Hollywood in the San Fernando Valley. Asparagus was a profitable wholesale commercial crop that Chinese had been farming since 1892.<sup>107</sup> With a labor-intensive harvest between March and September, Chinese farm managers hired Chinese, Mexican, Filipino, German, Italian, and Japanese workers as agricultural hands.<sup>108</sup> By the late 1920s, Chinese farmers were growing approximately 80 percent of all local asparagus.<sup>109</sup> Sam Chang, whose father first began growing asparagus in the town of Lankershim (later North Hollywood) in the early decades of the twentieth century, purchased an existing asparagus

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<sup>105</sup> Sucheng Chan, *This Bittersweet Soil: The Chinese in California Agriculture, 1860-1910*, (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1986).

<sup>106</sup> Wild, *Street Meeting*, 18.

<sup>107</sup> Liu, *Transnational History*, 100.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, 107.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, 120.



farm in the town of Sepulveda (later North Hills) in the 1920s. Upon his retirement some sixty years later, Chang sold his farm, and kept the original farmhouse at 8854 Hayvenhurst Avenue (not extant).<sup>110</sup>

One of the few known remaining agricultural properties associated with Chinese American farming is the Jue Joe Ranch at 16608 Vanowen Boulevard in Van Nuys (later Lake Balboa). This appears to be one of the last remnants of agricultural property anywhere in the San Fernando Valley. The ranch, which once stretched some 100 acres and included numerous residential and work buildings, supplied asparagus to the produce markets in Downtown Los Angeles. Joe was also one of the directors of the San Fernando Valley Asparagus Marketing Association, and by 1925 was considered one of best-known Chinese growers in the Valley. A small piece of this land remains, containing a small barn and what appears to be an asparagus packing shed. A residence and swimming pool, constructed by Jue Joe's son after his father's death in 1941, is also extant.<sup>111</sup>



*Aerial view of Jue Joe Ranch, circa 1947 (Jue Joe Clan History, accessed June 2017).*

Chinese American farmers were hard hit by the Great Depression, coupled with intense competition by Japanese American farmers who, by the 1930s, were farming 15 percent of the agricultural land in Los Angeles County and producing the majority of the county's vegetables.<sup>112</sup> This trend reversed abruptly in 1942, with the passage of *Executive Order 9066*, ordering the internment of persons of Japanese ancestry. Many Japanese American-owned farms, wholesale businesses, and produce brokerage firms were divided and sold for far below market value. Non-Japanese entrepreneurs in the produce business, including Chinese Americans, bought and operated these businesses for the duration of World War II. In

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<sup>110</sup> Calisphere, University of Southern California, text accompanying a photograph of Mr. and Mrs. Sam Chang of North Hollywood, California, 1950, accessed June 2017, <https://calisphere.org/item/3797c4a38024d65af68074d5597bc7d7/>.

<sup>111</sup> Kevin Roderick, "Jue Joe Ranch in the middle of the Valley," *LA Observed*, posted May 31, 2015, accessed June 2017, [http://www.laobserved.com/archive/2015/05/jue\\_joe\\_ranch\\_in\\_the\\_midd.php](http://www.laobserved.com/archive/2015/05/jue_joe_ranch_in_the_midd.php).

<sup>112</sup> Tara Fickle, "A History of the Los Angeles City Market: 1930-1950." *Gum Saan Journal* 32, no. 1, 2010.

the decades after the war, lands available for agricultural uses declined sharply as farmland was subdivided and developed as suburban residential tracts. Thus, farming among Chinese Americans gradually diminished.

### **City Market and Market Chinatown, 1900-1950**

In the first decade of the twentieth century, a second Chinese settlement developed to the south of Downtown Los Angeles around East 9<sup>th</sup> and South San Pedro Streets, the result of Chinese farmers transitioning from truck farming to wholesale produce businesses. Truck farmers initially peddled produce door-to-door for a diverse range of customers both in and out of Chinatown. As the population of Los Angeles increased, they frequently competed with Japanese and European immigrant truck farmers in an informal and crowded produce market at the Los Angeles Plaza. To address the congestion at the Plaza, in 1906 the City Council approved an ordinance that increased licensing fees for produce peddlers and restricted where produce could be sold.<sup>113</sup> In response, wholesale produce markets were established to accommodate increased demand for sale and distribution of fruits and vegetables.<sup>114</sup> Thus, many Chinese farmers moved from direct sale of produce through peddling to wholesale through produce markets during this period. Chinese owned and operated farms increased in acreage. The English-speaking children of first generation Chinese immigrants were able to compete with the Anglo-owned produce markets of the period. Of the 155 produce companies located in Los Angeles in 1910, 17 were owned by Chinese.<sup>115</sup>

Among the earliest wholesale produce markets was Hewes Market (not extant), established in 1901 at the intersection of South Los Angeles and East 9<sup>th</sup> Streets.<sup>116</sup> In 1904, Los Angeles Market Company built a larger facility (not extant) at the intersection of South Central Avenue and East 3<sup>rd</sup> Street.<sup>117</sup> The Los Angeles Market Company later constructed additional markets at 1601 East Olympic Boulevard (all buildings have been replaced to serve the existing Los Angeles Wholesale Produce Market) and 746 Market Court (mostly demolished, later called Alameda Produce Market). While Chinese Americans worked at each of these markets, the City Market of Los Angeles at 1057 South San Pedro Street was of particular importance to the Chinese American community. City Market was a consortium of Chinese, Japanese, and Anglo farmers who incorporated in 1909. Construction of the market began soon thereafter. The market occupied over six acres and was designed in the Mission Revival style by Los Angeles architects firm Morgan and Walls (demolished 2013). Chinese investors provided 41 percent of the initial capital required to build the market and Chinese stakeholders invested \$81,850 of a total \$200,000 in contributions.<sup>118</sup> Additional funds were raised by Anglo and Japanese investors to create a uniquely diverse ownership structure.

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<sup>113</sup> "Peddlers' Fight: Produce Exchange and Market Company Favor Fruit Hucksters in Contest with Grocers," *Los Angeles Times*, January 17, 1906.

<sup>114</sup> Fickle, "City Market."

<sup>115</sup> Ibid.

<sup>116</sup> Ibid. Some sources cite the market name as Hughes Market.

<sup>117</sup> "Will Build Fine Market House," *Los Angeles Times*, January 21, 1904.

<sup>118</sup> Tara Fickle, "City Market"; "Six-acre Paved Area in New Market; Two Plants Going Up, One Soon Open," *Los Angeles Times*, June 17, 1909.

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As Chinese merchants and workers moved into the neighborhood surrounding City Market, the area became known as Market Chinatown. Merchants in Market Chinatown included immigrants from a variety of countries including Japan, Italy, and Russia; the majority were Chinese Americans.<sup>119</sup> Initial uses immediately surrounding City Market were primarily industrial. Various residential building types began to appear in the vicinity, including boarding houses, residential hotels, and apartment buildings. Given the intensive work and long hours required of City Market workers, it was not uncommon for workers—primarily single men at first—to live in these residential buildings. Properties included the Continental Hotel at 800-810 East 7<sup>th</sup> Street (1912), the Market Hotel at 964-968 South San Pedro Street (1915), and the New Union Hotel (1924/altered) at 701-711 E. 9<sup>th</sup> Street.<sup>120</sup> As Chinese immigrants established families, many also lived in residential areas surrounding the market, particularly on Crocker Street and Towne Avenue between 9<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> Streets. These early residences have since been replaced with commercial and industrial buildings.



*City Market, 1941. (Los Angeles Public Library, Herald-Examiner Collection).*

As the Chinese resident population grew, businesses that catered to Chinese customers—such as grocery stores, a pharmacy, and professional service offices including insurance, law and accounting offices—soon followed, lining the commercial streets around City Market. The Hong Kong Noodle Company at 950 South San Pedro Street provided fresh and dry Chinese noodles, won ton skins, and other pasta products to Chinese American markets and restaurants in the areas. It is also popularly regarded as the birthplace of the fortune cookie in 1918, when its founder David Jung began distributing cookies with inspirational messages to unemployed men gathered on the street outside.<sup>121</sup> Institutions, such as churches and benevolent associations, also began to appear at this time.<sup>122</sup> The Chinese Congregational Church at 734 East 9<sup>th</sup> Place (1924/altered), chose to establish their first permanent location here, rather than in Chinatown. This multi-ethnic area also included Italian, Greek, Mexican, Japanese, African American, and Jewish residents, most of whom were also employed in the wholesale produce businesses.<sup>123</sup> As residents vacated Chinatown in advance of the construction of Union Station in the late 1920s and early 1930s, Market Chinatown became increasingly significant to the Chinese American community in Los Angeles.<sup>124</sup>

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<sup>119</sup> Jan Jin, *The Power of Urban Ethnic Places: Cultural Heritage and Community Life* (New York: Routledge, 2011), 175.

<sup>120</sup> Carson Anderson, *Eastside Industrial Area Architectural and Historical Resources Survey for the Community Redevelopment Agency of the City of Los Angeles*, September 1992, 1-5.

<sup>121</sup> Hong Kong Noodle Company is one of three Asian food companies that claim to have invented the fortune cookie in the early twentieth century.

<sup>122</sup> Chen, "Changing Social-Cultural Patterns," 88.

<sup>123</sup> Garding Lui, *Inside Los Angeles Chinatown* (Los Angeles: privately printed, 1948), 42.

<sup>124</sup> Lui, 44.

With the development of New Chinatown north of Downtown Los Angeles in 1938, Market Chinatown began to decline as the city's primary Chinese district. In the late 1930s and early 1940s, many Chinese living in the Market Chinatown area relocated to New Chinatown, re-establishing their business and occupying nearby residential areas. It is estimated that by 1950, just 25 Chinese families remained in Market Chinatown, and most of them were engaged in the produce businesses.<sup>125</sup> Although little remains of Market Chinatown, the area is still home to a handful of Chinese American businesses and organizations, including the Bow On Benevolent Association at 1010 South San Pedro Street (1968), which serves the neighborhood's diverse population. In the same building is Paul's Kitchen, a Chinese restaurant that opened in 1946 and has been in continuous operation since 1968.<sup>126</sup> Also remaining in the area just outside of the demolished City Market is an industrial building used by the Jue Joe Company (1105 South San Pedro Street) from 1932 to at least 1956. The company likely marketed wholesale produce from Jue Joe's ranch in the San Fernando Valley.

### **East Adams Boulevard, 1920-1965**

As the residential area of Market Chinatown became more densely populated, Chinese residents moved south to residential neighborhoods around East Adams Boulevard and San Pedro Street. Chinese occupancy of this neighborhood began in the 1920s and was concentrated in an area bounded by Washington Boulevard, South Main Street, East Adams Boulevard, and South Central Avenue.<sup>127</sup> The neighborhood was particularly convenient for those employed in farming in South Los Angeles and surrounding communities. The area was and remains primarily residential, with some Chinese-owned small businesses patronized by the Chinese community, including Kwong Hing Lung market (not extant), and CFO gas station (not extant). Around 1940, the First Chinese Presbyterian Church established a congregation in an existing Presbyterian church at 631 East Adams Boulevard (1905-06, extant/altered) with a school for local children. The Chinese Herb Co. opened a South Los Angeles branch which operated at 4925 South Broadway from 1936 to 1942 (not extant). Following World War II, residents were generally first generation immigrants, as wealthier Chinese Americans were more likely to have moved into middle class neighborhoods as far west as Arlington Avenue and Crenshaw Boulevard. In 1950, more than 100 Chinese families were living in the multi-ethnic neighborhood.<sup>128</sup>

### **New Chinatown and China City, 1938-1950**

The Chinatown neighborhood north of Downtown Los Angeles, which became known as New Chinatown, emerged in the late 1930s, following the demolition of the Chinese American community's original commercial and residential area to make way for the development of Union Station.<sup>129</sup> New

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<sup>125</sup> *Ibid.*, 41.

<sup>126</sup> The former area of City Market/Market Chinatown became mostly associated with Los Angeles' wholesale fashion industry. City Market is being redeveloped as a large-scale mixed-use project.

<sup>127</sup> Chen, "Changing Social-Cultural Patterns," 83.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.*, 70, 83. Additional research may identify some residential properties associated with the Chinese American population from this time.

<sup>129</sup> At the turn of the twentieth century the area later occupied by New Chinatown was a multi-ethnic neighborhood populated by various immigrant groups—including Chinese, Japanese, Italian, and French—as well as Anglo Americans, African Americans, Mexican Americans, and Native Americans. Los Angeles' Little Italy spanned a large area north of Downtown, including portions

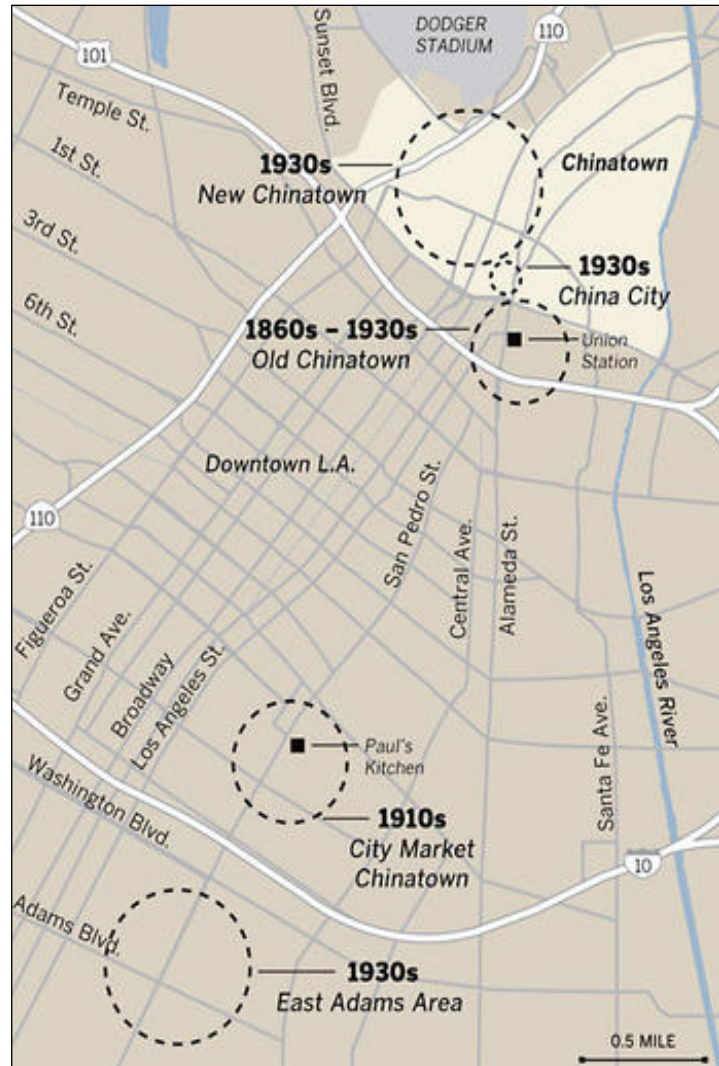
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Chinatown was initially anchored by two master-planned developments, both of which opened in 1938: the *New Chinatown* development (also known as Chinatown Central Plaza) to the north, and *China City* to the south.

In response to the displacement of the occupants of Old Chinatown, businessman and community leader Peter Soo Hoo, Sr. joined with other Chinese business owners to create the Los Angeles Chinatown Project Association (later renamed the Los Angeles Chinatown Corporation) in 1937.<sup>130</sup> The association gathered their own personal finances to purchase land for a new Chinatown. Acting on behalf of the association, Soo Hoo worked with Santa Fe Railway land agent Hebert Lapham to purchase a plot of land north of Old Chinatown, between Buena Vista Avenue (later North Broadway) and Hill Street, from the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway.

The New Chinatown development was conceptualized by Chinese American civic leaders who sought to counter common perceptions of Chinatowns as dangerous neighborhoods of unpaved, crime-filled alleyways by incorporating romantic stereotypes associated with China. The development was unique in that Chinese Americans controlled and distributed these images to visitors with the goal of establishing New Chinatown as a mixed-use development that would also be an important tourist destination and integral economic force in the City of Los Angeles. To this end, the association engaged noted architects Erle Webster and Adrian Wilson to create a master plan for a pedestrian village that would serve as a central hub for commerce and tourism. Webster & Wilson drafted a plan for a low-scale commercial center aligned to a system of interior pedestrian streets and a central plaza.<sup>131</sup> Streets were given names



When Los Angeles' original Chinatown was razed to make way for Union Station, displaced immigrants relocated to four nearby areas. *Los Angeles Times*, November 18, 2013.

of the Plaza, Sonoratown, Dogtown (became the north industrial district), Solano Canyon, Elysian Park, Lincoln Heights, and later Chinatown.

<sup>130</sup> Chen, "Changing Social-Cultural Patterns," 86.

<sup>131</sup> Central Plaza is also known as Peter Soo Hoo Square.

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meaningful to the Los Angeles Chinese population of the 1930s, including Gin Ling Way for the famous Street of Golden Treasures in Old Beijing; Sun Mun Way for Dr. Sun Yat-sen, first president of the Republic of China; Jung Jing Rd, referencing one of the honorific titles of Chiang Kai-shek; and Mei Ling Way for Chiang Kai-shek's wife.

Webster & Wilson designed some of the most elaborate buildings on the plaza, enthusiastically embracing many of the architectural details of Asian architecture. Building designs incorporated complex, sweeping rooflines with flared eaves and upturned rafter tails, decoratively carved brackets, and roof beams. Buildings were painted in bright colors and topped with clay tile roofs. Within a year of construction, neon accents were added to highlight these features. Two *pailou* (gateways) at Hill Street (West Gate) and Broadway (East Gate) were erected in 1938 and 1939, respectively, to anchor the entrances to the development and establish its overall aesthetic (West Gate and East Gate are City of Los Angeles Historic-Cultural Monuments No. 825 and 826, respectively.) Other features of the development included ornamental streetlights, hanging lanterns, decorative metal balustrades, a wishing well near West Gate designed by Prof. Henry K. Liu to resemble the sacred Seven Star Cavern in Guangdong Province, a landscaped fish pool near East Gate designed by Louie Hong Kay, and two smaller gates at either end of Lei Min Way. In 1941, renowned Chinese American artist Tyrus Wong completed a painted mural entitled *Chinese Celestial Dragon* at 951 North Broadway. The Hong Building on the Central Plaza is particularly notable for its association with You Chung Hong, the first Chinese American to pass the California State Bar and practice law in Los Angeles. Hong became a prominent immigration lawyer as well as a major property owner in New Chinatown, and ran his law practice from the second floor of the Hong Building at 445 Gin Ling Way, overlooking Central Plaza.



*New Chinatown development under construction, 1937. Los Angeles Public Library, Shades of L.A. Collection.*

Chinese-owned businesses began moving into the New Chinatown development in 1937, even before construction was completed. It opened to the public on June 25, 1938 as Los Angeles Chinatown, with businesses, many family-owned, catering both to the local Chinese community as well as to tourists. Unlike the previous centers of Chinese entrepreneurship in Los Angeles, this development would be owned by Chinese businessmen, making it the first Chinese commercial enclave to be owned and

developed by Chinese Americans. A number of the development's earliest tenants were established businesses and organizations relocating after having been displaced from Old Chinatown. Man Jen Low restaurant, originally established in Old Chinatown in 1878, was reopened in 1938 by the children of the restaurant's founder, Woo Fong Hoy Lee. Renamed General Lee's Restaurant in 1954 in an effort to appeal to non-Chinese, it emerged as one of the city's most popular Chinese restaurants, hosting celebrities and international dignitaries before closing in 1985 (475 Gin Ling Way).<sup>132</sup>

Also relocating from Old Chinatown were the Hop Sing Tong Benevolent Association, one of the oldest Chinese fraternal organizations in Los Angeles (428 Gin Ling Way) and the Los Angeles branch of the Kong Chow Benevolent Association (931 North Broadway).<sup>133</sup> K.G. Louie Company, an art and gift store, moved to New Chinatown from Downtown Los Angeles in 1938 (432 Gin Ling Way). Other long-time establishments in New Chinatown include The Golden Pagoda Restaurant (later Hop Louie), which has occupied the iconic five-tiered pagoda since 1941 (950 Mei Ling Way); Ginling Gifts (441 Gin Ling Way); Sincere Imports (483 Gin Ling Way); and the Grand Star Restaurant (later the Grand Star Jazz Club), owned and managed by the Quon family since 1946 (943 Sun Mun Way).<sup>134</sup>

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<sup>132</sup> Other early New Chinatown businesses that no longer exist include Tuey Far Low restaurant (436 Gin Ling Way); Forbidden Palace restaurant (449 Gin Ling Way); Chinese Jade Café (454 Gin Ling Way); Chew Yuen & Co. gift shop (459 Gin Ling Way); Dun Sow Hong Co. herbal shop (463 Gin Ling Way); Joy Joy Woo restaurant (483 Gin Ling Way); Hop Key Co. (487 Gin Ling Way); Tin Hing Co. jewelers (491 Gin Ling Way); Yee Hung Guey restaurant (495 Gin Ling Way); and Grandview Gardens restaurant (951 Mei Ling Way). "Old Chinatown Restaurants in Los Angeles," *L.A. Weekly*, January 27, 2017.

<sup>133</sup> The Kong Chow Benevolent Association building was designed by Gilbert Leong in 1960. It includes the Kwan Gung Temple, a Buddhist shrine relocated from their earlier headquarters in Old Chinatown.

<sup>134</sup> In 1982-1983, the Community Redevelopment Agency of the City of Los Angeles (CRA/LA) commissioned a survey of the Chinatown Redevelopment Project Area to identify resources eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places under the Section 106 review process. This survey identified two National Register-eligible commercial historic districts: the East of Hill Street Chinatown District (New Chinatown) and the West of Hill Street Chinatown Historic District (Greater Chinatown). A 1986 letter of concurrence from the State Historic Preservation Officer (SHPO) identifies these districts as "exceptionally significant under [National Register] Criterion [*sic*] A and C as the predominant, remaining Los Angeles area examples of commercial districts developed, owned, and operated by Chinese Californians." Both of these districts are included in the State Historic Resources Inventory (HRI) with California Register of Historical Resources Status Codes of 2S2 (determined eligible for listing on the National Register by consensus through Section 106 process; listed on the California Register).

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Just as Old Chinatown had been used as an outdoor film set in previous decades, New Chinatown was a popular filming location from its inception. After World War II, the continued American presence in the Pacific Rim and the expansion of the Cold War increased opportunities for Hollywood to explore Asian cultures through film. In the 1950s, films set in the Pacific Islands allowed indigenous actors to play supporting roles, and a growing white American awareness of Asian cultures created demand for films set in Asian countries. Although



*Restaurant row in New Chinatown Gin Ling Way and Central Plaza, circa 1950. (Los Angeles Public Library, Security Pacific National Bank Collection).*

yellowface portrayals continued, Chinese American actors and directors increased their representation in the film industry. Among the earliest films produced on site in New Chinatown were the early film noir *The Shanghai Gesture* (1941), and *Dragon Seed* (1944), starring Katharine Hepburn in yellowface.<sup>135</sup> In the 1940s and 1950s, New Chinatown restaurants such as Grandview Gardens (951 Mei Ling Way, not extant) and General Lee's attracted some of Hollywood's biggest celebrities, including Bob Hope, Clark Gable, Gary Cooper, Frank Sinatra, Judy Garland, and Spencer Tracy.

In contrast to New Chinatown—constructed, funded, and managed by Chinese Americans—China City was developed by Anglo civic leaders. The project was spearheaded by Christine Sterling, who previously had organized efforts to rehabilitate nearby Olvera Street as a romanticized tourist-centered, Mexican-themed marketplace.<sup>136</sup> Sterling's vision for China City was a similar destination that capitalized on Americans' growing fascination with East Asia and other cultures, largely instigated through the rise of Asian-themed films in the motion picture industry. Located just north of Olvera Street—bounded on the east and west by North Spring and North Main Streets, and on the north and south by Ord and Macy Streets—China City was a walled shopping arcade designed in the Asian Eclectic architectural style.<sup>137</sup>

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<sup>135</sup> "Made in L.A. Chinatown," Film Chinatown, accessed July 2013, <http://www.filmchinatown.com/made-in-chinatown.html>. The use of Chinatown as a filming location continues. One of the most successful Hollywood films shot there was *Rush House* (1998), starring Hong Kong actor and martial artist Jackie Chan.

<sup>136</sup> Jenny Cho and the Chinese Historical Society of Southern California, *Chinatown and China City in Los Angeles* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2011), 37.

<sup>137</sup> For purposes of this National Register MPDF and consistent with National Register terminology, the architectural style is categorized as Other: Asian Eclectic and Late 19<sup>th</sup> and Early 20<sup>th</sup> Century Period Revival: Eclectic Period Revival. For SurveyLA, the City has used the term Asian Eclectic to categorize this style. As the name implies, the Asian Eclectic style is a fusion of architectural influences from various Asian countries, particularly China and Japan, often assembled in fanciful combinations to create an atmosphere of exoticism or opulence. In pre-World War II Los Angeles, the style was typically interpreted by white architects for a white audience. Perhaps Los Angeles' best known example is Grauman's Chinese Theater at 6925 Hollywood



Features included a temple, a lotus pond, constantly burning incense, Chinese instrumental music, and interactive attractions such as rickshaw rides, fortunetellers, and theatrical performances.<sup>138</sup> The Chinese Cultural Society, founded by Sterling and Raymond Cannon, played a large role in organizing events in China City, including public festivals for the Chinese New Year.<sup>139</sup> Although the development received much press when it first opened in 1938, it had limited commercial success. China City was destroyed by fire in 1949.<sup>140</sup>



*Lotus Pool Road in China City, circa 1939. (Los Angeles Public Library, Harry Quillen Collection).*

## World War II

During the Second World War, construction in New Chinatown, as in most areas of Los Angeles, came to a near halt. Transformative changes were underway for the Chinese American community throughout the United States. The patriotism of thousands of Chinese Americans who served overseas, along with those who supported the war effort at home, paved the way for the repeal of the *Chinese Exclusion Act* in 1943. The make-up of the Chinese American community began to change in the 1940s as immigration from China increased. Congress enacted laws allowing Chinese to enter the United States under a quota system. Although only 383 Chinese were admitted to the United States under this system between 1944 and 1949,<sup>141</sup> this shift in immigration policy opened the doors for increased immigration in the second half of the twentieth century. Congress also enacted the 1945 *War Brides Act* and 1946 *Fiancées Act*, which allowed entry of alien spouses and alien minor children of citizen members of the armed forces. Thus, Chinese Americans that had served honorably during the war were eligible for family reunification. Of the 5,687 Chinese admitted under these Acts, 5,099 were women, five were men, and 583 were children.<sup>142</sup>

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Boulevard (City of Los Angeles Historic-Cultural Monument No. 55), which opened in 1927. In the postwar period, Chinese American architects also began to interpret the style, primarily in and around Chinatown, for both Chinese and non-Chinese audiences.

<sup>138</sup> Cho, *China City*, 63.

<sup>139</sup> Chen, "Changing Social-Cultural Patterns," 85.

<sup>140</sup> *Ibid.*; *Angels Walk LA Self-Guided Historic Trails Chinatown* guidebook, City of Los Angeles, 2003. The last building from China City was demolished in the late 1990s.

<sup>141</sup> Chen, "Changing Social-Cultural Patterns," 40.

<sup>142</sup> *Ibid.*, 41.

The impact of these reforms was felt particularly strongly in California, where more than half of the nation's Chinese were living at the time.<sup>143</sup> Changes in immigration policies greatly reduced the imbalance in the ratio of men to women in the Chinese American community, which meant fewer single men and more families living in New Chinatown. These demographic changes determined how New Chinatown continued to develop and evolve in the decades after the war.<sup>144</sup> Chinese American community organizations also responded to hardships created by World War II and by the Second Sino-Japanese War during the same period.<sup>145</sup> Established benevolent associations reserved portions of their membership dues to contribute to the war effort. Numerous organizations also formed to provide relief for the duration of the wars. Women's organizations were particularly influential in this movement and were widely acknowledged for their contributions and achievements.<sup>146</sup> Chinese Americans in Los Angeles alone contributed \$215,000 to war relief between 1943 and 1945.<sup>147</sup> The 1943 visit by the First Lady of the Republic of China, Madame Chiang Kai-shek, to Los Angeles influenced the participation of women in public community organizations, and mobilized cross-cultural groups and public figures such as celebrities, movie moguls, politicians, dignitaries, and Chinese American community groups to support China during World War II.

Organizations formed during this period included the influential women's social and athletic Mei Wah Club, established in 1931, that developed the Chung Wah Drum and Bugle Corp—later called the Imperial Dragon Drum and Bugle Corp patterned after the 1963 Sacramento Group of the same name. Also formed was the Women's New Life Movement Association, a patriotic group founded in 1938 as an extension of the Chinese Kuomintang government's New Life Movement that promoted the progression of Chinese women in international affairs, educational achievement, and Chinese American communities. The New Life Movement Association met at the Chinese Presbyterian Church at 631 Adams Boulevard.<sup>148</sup> The St. Bridget Chinese Catholic Center was established in 1940 at 510 Cottage Home Street at the north end of New Chinatown, with a church, Chinese-language school, and recreational hall.<sup>149</sup>

Second and third generation Chinese Americans were coming of age and established clubs like the Sino-American Baseball Team that took advantage of the experience acquired at the first playground in Old Chinatown. The Los Angeles Woodcraft Rangers started a Chinatown branch at Castelar School under the leadership of Walter Chung. The group provided young boys with training in crafts, camping, and other activities in the 1940s. The Kwan Ying Girls Club was established in 1942 to provide aid during

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<sup>143</sup> *Ibid.*, 48. In 1940, approximately 51 percent of the Chinese in the United States were living in California.

<sup>144</sup> The immigration of women from China, and the establishment or re-establishment of families after WWII, is a trend that continued with the 1965 Immigration and Nationality Act. By 1970, the ratio of Chinese men to women was almost 1:1, where historically the imbalance had been as much as 300:1 in some places. Information provided by Dr. Sue Fawn Chung, Project Advisory Committee member.

<sup>145</sup> The Second Sino-Japanese War was a military conflict fought primarily between the Republic of China and the Empire of Japan from 1937 to 1945.

<sup>146</sup> *Linking Our Lives*, 24-25.

<sup>147</sup> Chen, "Changing Social-Cultural Patterns," 244.

<sup>148</sup> *Linking Our Lives*, 103-104.

<sup>149</sup> St. Bridget Chinese Catholic Church, accessed July 2017, <https://home.stbridgetccc.com/>.

World War II. Mabel Hong, an important community leader and wife of lawyer You Chung Hong, was active in this group whose activity ceased in the mid-1950s. The Los Angeles Chinese Women's Club was founded in 1944 by Lily Ho Quon to unite war relief efforts between Chinese American and Anglo American women, with most of its members coming from the Chinese middle- and upper-classes.<sup>150</sup> In 1947, this group joined the California Federation of Women's Clubs and, in 1953, created a junior component.<sup>151</sup> Returning Chinese American soldiers also established veterans organizations, including the Los Angeles Chinese American Legion Post 628 at 1014 South San Pedro Street (not extant).

### **Greater Chinatown and Postwar Growth & Expansion, 1945-1965**

After the war ended, development boomed in neighborhoods throughout Los Angeles, including in the city's new Chinatown. Hoping to recreate the success of the New Chinatown development, in 1947 the Los Angeles Chinatown Project Association sought to expand across Hill Street with a new mixed-use development called Greater Chinatown. Utilizing a similar development structure, Chinese American civic leaders and business owners collaborated with the Chinese Development Company to develop a plan for a pedestrian commercial center to be occupied by Chinese American merchants and their families.<sup>152</sup> The development is composed of nine two-story buildings containing fifty-five units total. Each unit spans both stories, with a commercial storefront on the ground story and residential above. Some units feature projecting balconies overlooking the pedestrian streets below. The development is centered on a paved central plaza, known as Chungking Plaza or West Plaza, anchored by a landscaped water feature. The plaza was the first portion of the development to be completed, intended to commemorate China's struggle during the war. Stylistically, Greater Chinatown references the Asian Eclectic vocabulary of New Chinatown, in a more simplified and restrained manner with sweeping rooflines with clay tiles, flared eaves with carved brackets, upturned rafter tails, and decorative window surrounds. The interior streets—Chung King Road and Chung King Court—are named for the southwestern Chinese city, likely due to its important role in World War II.<sup>153</sup>

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<sup>150</sup> *Linking Our Lives*, 24.

<sup>151</sup> *Ibid.*, 104.

<sup>152</sup> Chen, "Changing Social-Cultural Patterns," 87.

<sup>153</sup> Chung King is a transliteration of *Chongqing*, a major city in southwest China. In some instances, Greater Chinatown's Chung King Road is referred to as Chiang Kai-shek Road, while Chung King Court is called Chung King Road.

The Greater Chinatown development was completed in 1950, and was soon occupied by a range of neighborhood-serving businesses, many of them family owned, reflecting the increase in the number of second and third generation families. A number of business and organizations displaced from Old Chinatown and China City made the move to the new development and remain in operation. Notable among these is the F. See On Company at 507 Chung King Court. The business was established by Fong See in Sacramento in 1872, gradually transitioning from silk undergarments to antiques. The family moved to Los Angeles in 1897, locating their shop in Old Chinatown. Still operated by the Fong family, it has been at its location in Greater Chinatown since 1947, making it one of the oldest family-owned Asian art stores in Los Angeles.<sup>154</sup> In 1952, Fong See's nephew, Gim Fong, opened Fong's Oriental Works of Art at 943 Chung King Road, after the original shop burned down in the China City fire.<sup>155</sup> The Jade Tree at 957 Chung King Road has been family owned and operated since 1943, and is one of the last true antique galleries remaining in Chinatown.<sup>156</sup> The interest in quality Chinese art goods was promoted with the establishment of Quon and Quon, a national import-export company founded in 1929 in Peking (Beijing) that moved its headquarters to Los Angeles in 1937 under the leadership of Albert T. Quon.<sup>157</sup>



Greater Chinatown, circa 1949. Los Angeles Public Library, Harry Quillen Collection.

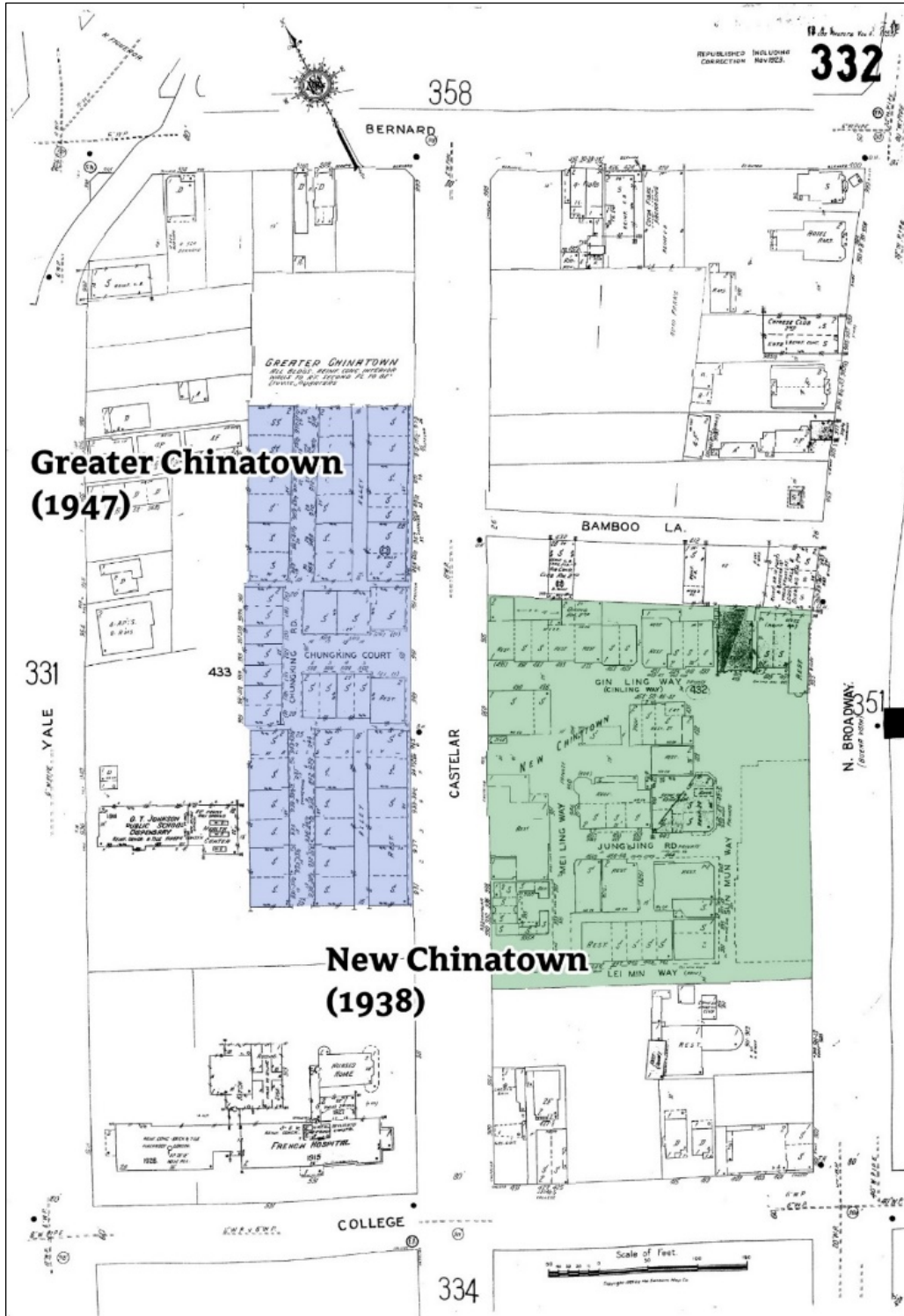
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<sup>154</sup> The history of the Fong family is recounted by Fong See's great-granddaughter Lisa See in her 1995 memoir, *On Gold Mountain: The One-Hundred Year Odyssey of My Chinese-American Family*.

<sup>155</sup> *Angels Walk LA*.

<sup>156</sup> Historically, there were three prominent Chinese antique stores that introduced the American public to high quality Chinese goods like paintings, furniture, porcelain, silk, and jewelry: F. See On, F. Suie One, and The Jade Tree. F. Suie One relocated to Pasadena in 1979. Information provided by Dr. Sue Fawn Chung, Advisory Committee Project member.

<sup>157</sup> Information provided by Dr. Sue Fawn Chung, Project Advisory Committee member.



Sanborn map of Los Angeles' New Chinatown and Great Chinatown developments, 1951.  
Environmental Data Resources, Inc., Sanborn Digital Maps.

While Chinatown continued to have a diverse ethnic population, by the 1940s the area was increasingly Chinese. With the establishment of the New Chinatown and Greater Chinatown commercial centers, much of the surrounding area developed organically, with retail buildings constructed primarily along North Broadway and North Hill streets.<sup>158</sup>

Commercial development expanded dramatically in the decades after World War II, and several of these businesses remain in operation in the New Chinatown neighborhood. Jin Hing Jewelry Co. (originally established in 1933) is one of oldest continuously operating Chinese jewelry stores in Los Angeles. It moved to 412 Bamboo Lane in 1950. Phoenix Bakery was founded by Fung Chow Chan in 1938 at 951 North Broadway, using family recipes to produce traditional Chinese pastries and cookies not found locally. The bakery's logo—a boy hiding a pastry box behind his back—was created by Chinese American artist Tyrus Wong in the 1940s.<sup>159</sup> Due to their success, the business moved to 969 North Broadway in 1977. Still owned and operated by the Chan family, with daughter Kathy Chan as CEO, Phoenix Bakery is the largest and oldest bakery in Chinatown.<sup>160</sup>

Fung Chow Chan was also instrumental in establishing Cathay Bank, the first bank operated by Chinese Americans to open in Los Angeles, and the first Chinese American commercial bank in California.<sup>161</sup> The impetus for the bank was Chan's inability to obtain a home loan from existing institutions, despite being one of New Chinatown's most successful business owners. Concluding that the local Chinese community needed its own financial services to ensure better access to capital and credit, Chan spent a decade organizing backers to apply for a bank charter, eventually resulting in the establishment of Cathay Bank at 777 North Broadway. Cathay Bank has served as an important economic anchor for New Chinatown since its completion in 1962. The bank was instrumental in financing apartments in Chinatown in the years following the 1965 Immigration and Nationality Act, tutored local Chinese business owners on how to use bank services, and instructed Chinatown workers on obtaining installment loans, often without collateral. Over time, Cathay Bank became the largest domestically owned Asian institution in the U.S., expanding to fifty branches in seven states, with one overseas branch in Hong Kong and two overseas offices.<sup>162</sup> Cathay Bank remained the only Chinese American bank in Los Angeles until East West Federal Savings & Loan Association opened in 1972, followed by the Far East Bank in 1974.<sup>163</sup> Cathay Bank is the oldest Chinese American bank in Southern California.

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<sup>158</sup> A notable exception to this development pattern of Chinese-owned businesses was the Far East Café. Originally opened in 1896, it moved to 347 East 1<sup>st</sup> Street in Little Tokyo in 1935. Owned by four Chinese immigrant cousins, it flourished by serving American Chinese cuisine to Los Angeles' Japanese immigrants. Over time, the restaurant became an important gathering place for the Japanese American community, particularly upon their return following the incarceration of persons of Japanese descent during World War II. The neon Chop Suey signage remains among the most recognizable features of Little Tokyo.

<sup>159</sup> Los Angeles Conservancy, "Exploring Chinatown," 10.

<sup>160</sup> *Angels Walk LA*.

<sup>161</sup> Los Angeles Conservancy, "Exploring Chinatown," 5.

<sup>162</sup> *Los Angeles Business Journal*, August 17, 1987.

<sup>163</sup> Wei Li, Gary Dymski, Yu Zhou, Maria Chee, and Carolyn Aldana, "Chinese-American Banking and Community Development in Los Angeles County," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, December 2002, 777-796; *Angels Walk LA*. East West Bank was the first federally chartered savings and loan to cater to foreign-born and American-born Chinese. Originally located on the ground floor of the Kong Chow Benevolent Association building at 931-933 North Broadway.



*Cathay Bank, 1962. Partnership in Progress, fedpartnership.gov/minority-banking-timeline/cathay-bank.*

Cathay Bank was designed by Chinese American architect Eugene Choy. Choy along with Gilbert Lester Leong were among the noted Chinese American architects of the period designing commercial, institutional, and residential buildings. Both architects are noted for blending elements of Mid-Century Modern architecture with Asian Eclectic style features.

Born in China in 1912, Choy earned his architecture degree from USC in 1939, and became just the second Chinese American to join the American Institute of Architects (AIA), and the first in California. He began his practice in 1947 and Cathay Bank is among his most prominent Los Angeles projects. Choy's commercial designs also included the Jin Hing Jewelry Co. at 412 Bamboo Lane (1950).

Born in Los Angeles in 1911, Gilbert Lester Leong studied sculpture and painting at the Chouinard Art Institute in Los Angeles before earning his degree in architecture from the University of Southern California in 1936, becoming the first Chinese American to graduate from USC's architecture program. After working in the offices of noted Los Angeles architects Paul R. Williams and Harwell Hamilton Harris, in 1950 Leong and a partner opened one of the nation's first Chinese American architecture firms. In 1954, he established his own practice.<sup>164</sup>

Other notable commercial enterprises from this period include Chun Wong, Inc., a pioneer in frozen food manufacturing.<sup>165</sup> Chun Wong was established in 1948 by Douglas "Doc" Wong, who was a partner with his brother Norman in the Grandview Gardens restaurant in the New Chinatown development. Initially, Doc Wong used the restaurant as a test kitchen, trying out his frozen food recipes, then doing

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<sup>164</sup> Leong was also a founding member of East West Bank in 1972, a savings institution focused on serving the local Chinese American community. Leong retired and closed his architectural practice in 1987. Chinese American Museum, *Breaking Ground: Chinese American Architects in Los Angeles, 1945-1980* (Los Angeles: Chinese American Museum, 2012) an exhibition at the Chinese American Museum from January to June 2012 as a part of the Pacific Standard Time initiative; Karen Wada, "Chinese American architects were vital to Los Angeles' growth," *Los Angeles Times*, February 1, 2012; "Gilbert Lester Leong, Architect, Founder of East West Bank," *Los Angeles Times*, August 28, 1996; Gordon Chang, Mark Dean Johnson, Paul Karlstrom, and Sharon Spain, *Asian American Art: A History, 1850-1970* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 2008), 374-375.

<sup>165</sup> Chun was the maiden name of Doc Wong's wife, hence the name *Chun Wong*.

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much of the cooking and freezing there as well. As the business grew, processing and packaging was moved to a brick building at 905 Yale Street on the edge of Chinatown.<sup>166</sup> In 1963, shortly after moving from their Chinatown location to a complex in Compton designed by Eugene Choy, Wong sold his business to the national canned food company Chun King Foods.<sup>167</sup> Globe Paper Company, founded by Walter Chung at 718 East 9<sup>th</sup> Street in the City Market area, was a major paper product supplier to Chinese restaurants, laundries, grocery stores, meat markets, associations, and general merchandise stores throughout Los Angeles, also selling specialty items to non-Asian companies such as May Company department stores, Sarno's Bakery, and See's Candies. The company later moved to larger facilities at 127 West 39<sup>th</sup> Street, south of Downtown Los Angeles.<sup>168</sup>

Quon Yick Noodle Company was founded in 1956 by Chinese immigrant Shew San Leong. Started as a small noodle company on Sunset Boulevard, around 1966 the company moved to a larger building at 2730 North Main Street in Lincoln Heights. Quon Yick became known for its dry noodles, pasta skins for won tons, and fortune cookies, competing with the older Hong Kong Noodle Company.<sup>169</sup> Bicycle Lee's, a flat rice noodle factory established in the 1940s, operated out of the first floor of the Gin/Yan Family Association building at 612 West College Street. Selling this specialty product to the general public, restaurants, and grocery stores, Mr. Lee made his deliveries to regular customers by bicycle.<sup>170</sup> Additional longtime businesses from this period include the G.W. Market at 672 North Spring Street (1958), the Moytel motel at 946 Yale Street (1960; Gilbert Leong), and the King Hing Theater at 649 North Spring Street (1962; Gilbert Leong).



*Right: G.W. Market at 672 North Spring Street, 2011. Left: King Hing Theater at 649 North Spring Street, 2011.  
(Photos courtesy of Sue Fawn Chung)*

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<sup>166</sup> This building was later occupied by Morgan Garment & Linen Service.

<sup>167</sup> Eugene Moy, "Historic Building/Site Report, Grandview Gardens Restaurant," September 25, 1992. Additional information provided by Carole Sutherland Wong, daughter of Doc Wong, as conveyed by Dr. Sue Fawn Chung, Project Advisory Committee member. Sources differ as to whether Chun Wong was the first Chinese frozen food processing factory in the United States.

<sup>168</sup> Information provided by Joaquin Chung, as conveyed by Dr. Sue Fawn Chung, Project Advisory Committee member.

<sup>169</sup> Quon Yick has since relocated to El Monte, where it is run by Leong's wife and sons. Information provided by Dr. Sue Fawn Chung, Project Advisory Committee member.

<sup>170</sup> Information provided by Dr. Sue Fawn Chung, Project Advisory Committee member.



After World War II, many benevolent associations established new permanent headquarters in the New Chinatown neighborhood, often engaging Chinese American architects like Eugene Choy or Gilbert Leong. While some associations chose to build prominent structures in the Asian Eclectic style—employing elements like tile roofing, flared eaves, and upturned rafter tails—other groups opted for more restrained Modern-style buildings.

Association headquarters established during this period include the Lung Kong Tin Yee Association at 989 North Broadway (1949; A. Godfrey Bailey); the Soo Yuen Fraternal Association at 993 North Broadway (1965; Curry-Higley) ; the Bing Kong Tong Association at 963 North Broadway (1949); the Ying On Benevolent Association at 424 West Bernard Street (1949; Eugene Choy); the Wong Kong Har Wu Sun Association at 744 North Broadway (1950; Eugene Choy); the Gee How Oak Tin Association at 421 Bernard Street (1949; Eugene Choy); the Hoy Ping Benevolent Association at 411 Bamboo Lane (1950); the Hoy Sun Ning Yung Benevolent Association (Los Angeles chapter) at 972 Chung King Road (1950);<sup>171</sup> the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association at 925 North Broadway (Eugene Choy (1952); the Kow Kong Benevolent Association at 510 Bernard Street (1956; Gilbert Leong); the Lee On Dong Association at 964 North Hill Street (1959); the Kong Chow Benevolent Association at 931 North Broadway (1960; Gilbert Leong); the Jan Ying Benevolent Association at 736 Yale Street (1965; Gilbert Leong); and the Gin Family Association at 612 West College Street (1976).<sup>172</sup>



Opening of the Lung Kong Tin Yee Association building, 1949. Los Angeles Public Library, Shades of L.A. Collections.

Additional community and business organizations constructed new buildings in New Chinatown during this period, including the Chinese American Citizens Alliance (Los Angeles Lodge) at 415 Bamboo Lane, (1955, Eugene Choy). Also in 1955, the Chinese Chamber of Commerce of Los Angeles was formed to

<sup>171</sup> Hoy Sun Ning Yung Benevolent Association was originally established in San Francisco in 1892. It is unclear when the Los Angeles chapter was founded, and it has been located at 972 Chung King Road since 1950.

<sup>172</sup> Benevolent associations typically predate their buildings, often by many decades. In some instances, these organizations were originally established in San Francisco in the late nineteenth century, with a Los Angeles branch formed in the early twentieth century in Old Chinatown, and later relocated to Chinatown. The original founding dates of these benevolent associations could not always be determined. Dates and architect names indicated are taken from original building permits and/or certificates of occupancy where available.

promote and encourage Chinese American business throughout the city.<sup>173</sup> The *New Kwong Tai Press*, Los Angeles' first Chinese ethnic newspaper, was founded in 1961 in the basement of 940 Chung King Road in the Greater Chinatown development. It was one of the city's oldest Chinese newspapers when it ceased operations.<sup>174</sup> French Hospital (later known as the Pacific Alliance Medical Center) at 531 W College Street originally served a primarily French population in Los Angeles. As the Chinese population in the area increased, the Chinese population the hospital served also increased. The French Hospital became the primary source of medical care for the majority of New Chinatown residents.<sup>175</sup>

Religious institutions continued to play an important role in Chinese community life after the war. As with the benevolent associations, many religious congregations sought to establish their presence in the New Chinatown neighborhood with new buildings. By this time, religious services were typically bilingual and included supplemental community programs, such as Sunday schools, choirs, and potlucks. While many second- and third-generation Chinese Americans practiced Christianity, local benevolent associations and social clubs also served religious or spiritual functions for those who continued traditional practices of Daoism or Buddhism. Benevolent association meeting halls frequently included shrines on the second floor, and were also used for the instruction of children in religious practices. Institutions that established facilities in New Chinatown during this period include the Chinese United Methodist Church at 825 North Hill Street (1947) and the First Chinese Baptist Church at 984 Yale Street (1957), both designed by Gilbert Leong.<sup>176</sup> Alpine Playground was established in 1951 to encourage sports activities in New Chinatown. The playground gave rise to the Chinese basketball team, which established a league in 1962.<sup>177</sup>

### Residential Integration, 1945-1965

In the years following World War II, the population of Chinese in the United States grew dramatically. U.S. policy encouraged Chinese students to complete their studies in the United States by offering financial grants through the U.S. State Department. By the end of the war, more than 2,000 Chinese students had been admitted to the United States, and by 1949, more Chinese students were enrolled in American colleges and universities than at any earlier period.<sup>178</sup> In addition to students, many Chinese immigrants during this period were refugees from the newly formed People's Republic of China, and

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<sup>173</sup> Chinese Chamber of Commerce of Los Angeles, accessed July 2013, <http://www.lachinesechamber.org/>. The Chamber occupies a space in the Far East National Bank Building at 977 North Broadway (1983).

<sup>174</sup> Him Mark Lai, "The Ups and Down of Chinese Press in North America," n.d., Him Mark Lai digital archive, accessed July 2017, <https://himmarklai.org/>. It is unclear when the *New Kwong Tai Press* shut down. According to Lai, after the press adopted more modern printing methods for the newspaper, it continued to hand set type for wedding invitations and other fine printing.

<sup>175</sup> Frank Shyong, "After 157 years in Chinatown, Los Angeles' oldest hospital shuts its doors," *Los Angeles Times*, December 18, 2017.

<sup>176</sup> The address used by the church is 942 Yale Street.

<sup>177</sup> George and Elsie Yee, "The 1927 Chinese Baseball team," in *Bridging the Centuries: History of Chinese Americans in Southern California* (Los Angeles: Chinese Historical Society of Southern California, 2001), 158-162; Sherman Louie, "The Chinese Basketball Story," in op. cit., 163-164.

<sup>178</sup> Chen, "Changing Social-Cultural Patterns," 45. These students were from all parts of China and Asia, especially Taiwan. As the Cold War continued, elite students from outside the Peoples' Republic of China were marooned in America, settled, and contributed significantly to its productive life. Because many became academics or technology professionals, notably in aerospace or computers, they and their families moved into the upper-middle-class suburbs of Los Angeles near the places of their professions. Information provided by Munson Kwok, Project Advisory Committee member.

tended to be wealthier than earlier immigrants.<sup>179</sup> In Los Angeles, the Chinese community ballooned from a population of approximately 8,000 in 1950 to approximately 20,000 in 1960.<sup>180</sup>

Beginning in the late 1940s, the New Chinatown residential district continued to expand northward toward Elysian Park, while the multi-ethnic enclave around East Adams Boulevard retained a substantial Chinese American population. Also during this period, there was the expansion of the Chinese American population into previously white-only neighborhoods for the first time. In the previous decade, many Chinese Americans were denied federal housing assistance through programs of the Public Works Administration available only to American citizens.<sup>181</sup> Chinese Americans were also excluded from the Federal Housing Administration's home loan programs. Exclusion of Asian Americans from these programs prevented them from accessing new, entitlement-based benefits of citizenship expanded through New Deal programs, reinforcing Los Angeles' existing housing segregation. At the same time, racial restrictive covenants prevented Chinese Americans from moving into certain neighborhoods. By the 1940s, white homeowners in areas bordering neighborhoods with restrictive covenants began selling to non-white buyers. The massive postwar growth of the city's non-white population created ethnically mixed neighborhoods, particularly in West and South Los Angeles, where non-white professionals were willing to pay a premium for improved housing.<sup>182</sup>

In the years immediately following the war, residents of various ethnic backgrounds pursued legal action to overturn racial restrictive covenants across Los Angeles. While the case involving black residents of Los Angeles in the Sugar Hill neighborhood in West Adams is perhaps best known, Chinese Americans also pursued civil rights cases to gain access to housing throughout the City. In 1946, Chinese American Thomas Amer purchased a house at 127 West 56<sup>th</sup> Street in a South Los Angeles housing tract with deed restrictions. Amer's white neighbors filed an injunction against him, attempting to prevent him from taking possession of the house. Amer pursued the case to the United States Supreme Court in 1947, where it received national attention as one of seven cases from California on the issue of enforcing racial restrictive covenants. While the Supreme Court ultimately decided to rule only on cases involving African American homeowners as representative of all people facing restrictive covenants in *Shelley v. Kraemer*, Amer's case was viewed as an important civil rights victory for Chinese Americans.<sup>183</sup> In the years following the decision, middle-class Chinese American families began moving into formerly white-only suburbs throughout Los Angeles, creating a more diffuse Chinese population.

One of the most significant factors in the early movement of Chinese Americans out of Chinatown was the rise of Chinese American architects designing houses for the growing number of Chinese American middle class homeowners. Eugene Choy and Gilbert Leong are both noted for their Mid-Century Modern homes designed in Los Angeles with a concentration in the Silver Lake neighborhood. Choy himself was

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<sup>179</sup> Chen, "Changing Social-Cultural Patterns," 45.

<sup>180</sup> *Linking Our Lives*, 20.

<sup>181</sup> Charlotte Brooks, *Alien Neighbors, Foreign Friends: Asian Americans, Housing, and the Transformation of Urban California* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 72, 75.

<sup>182</sup> Brooks, *Alien Neighbors*, 176.

<sup>183</sup> *Ibid.*, 178-186.

the subject of racial discrimination when, in 1949, he sought to purchase a narrow hillside lot on Castle Street overlooking the Silver Lake Reservoir to build a residence for his family. Confronted with deed restrictions that would prevent him from purchasing property in the area, Choy went door to door soliciting the support of his would-be neighbors and eventually winning them over.<sup>184</sup> Choy's completed residence (3027 Castle Street) received national attention, praised in architecture magazines and photographed by Julius Shulman.<sup>185</sup> Choy's success initiated a trend of affluent Chinese Americans building homes in Silver Lake. Additional residences designed by Choy include the Chew Residence at 3893 Franklin Avenue (1953), the Kawaguchi Residence at 3022 Windsor Avenue (1956), the residence at 3028 Windsor Avenue (1949), and the apartment building at 2356 Duane Street (1957).

Gilbert Leong also designed a number of residences in the Silver Lake neighborhood: the Judge Delbert E. and Dolores Wong Residence at 2416 West Silver Lake Drive (1954), the Edwin Kwoh & Beulah Quo Residence at 1906 Redcliff Street (1956), the Dr. Edward Lee Residence at 2410 West Silver Lake Drive (1957), and the Tirado-Lion-Peligri Residence at 2925 Waverly Drive (1959).<sup>186</sup>

### **Chinatown and Chinese Dispersion and Upward Mobility Since 1965**

By the 1960s, Asian Americans in Los Angeles were more likely to own their own homes than Mexican Americans or African Americans, a reversal of the trends of the 1940s and 1950s.<sup>187</sup> This residential mobility gave middle-class Chinese Americans access to parts of Southern California experiencing the greatest postwar economic growth, making them less dependent on manufacturing jobs that were beginning to leave Los Angeles. As Chinese American families relocated to residential suburbs, their children gained access to better-funded public schools. All of these factors contributed to the relative prosperity of the Chinese American community in the decades following the World War II.

The passage of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 had a substantial impact on the Chinese American community in Los Angeles. The legislation abolished national origins quotas that favored immigrants from western and northern Europe, instead giving each country an identical quota. This policy shift resulted in a substantial increase in the number of ethnic Chinese admitted to the United States annually, not only from China but also from Vietnam, Thailand, Indonesia, and the Philippines. The Act also revised policies allowing political refugees into the United States. In addition to the thousands of Chinese admitted under standard immigration policies, 15,000 Chinese refugees were permitted into the United States in the mid-1960s.<sup>188</sup>

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<sup>184</sup> Chinese American Museum, *Breaking Ground*, 36. The exhibition described how Choy, Gilbert L. Leong, Helen Liu Fong and Gin D. Wong helped to shape Los Angeles' postwar landscape.

<sup>185</sup> Chinese American Museum, *Breaking Ground*, 30.

<sup>186</sup> Information provided by the UCLA Chinese American Oral History project (unpublished), Suellen Cheng, and Dr. Sue Fawn Chung, as conveyed by Dr. Chung, Project Advisory Committee member.

<sup>187</sup> Brooks, *Alien Neighbors*, 227.

<sup>188</sup> *Linking Our Lives*, 11.

## SurveyLA Citywide Historic Context Statement

### Chinese Americans in Los Angeles, 1850-1980

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During the late 1960s, West Coast universities began offering Asian American Studies programs after protestors at the University of California, Berkeley and San Francisco State University demanded that the history of people of color be included in what was then a Eurocentric history curriculum. In 1969, the Asian American Studies Center was established at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA). Community members, students, staff, and faculty sought to develop a center to bridge campus and community around the theme of liberative education and social justice. UCLA began to serve as an active site for the development of Asian American Studies as a field of study just as the Chinese American population in Los Angeles reached approximately 40,000.



*Storefronts along North Spring Street, n.d. (Seaver Center for Western Historic Research).*

Beginning in the 1970s, affluent Chinese Americans began moving outside the City of Los Angeles, primarily east to the San Gabriel Valley. During this period, many Chinese Americans relocated to the City of Monterey Park, purchasing homes and establishing what has been termed an ethnoburb, a suburban residential and commercial center with a substantial concentration of a particular ethnic minority population.<sup>189</sup> Monterey Park was marketed as the Chinese Beverly Hills by real estate agent Frederic Hsieh, who compared the area's geography to Taipei, Taiwan.<sup>190</sup> Businesses and institutions catering to the Chinese American community either moved with the residential population or were newly established in this area. This demographic shift has been reinforced as many newly arrived Chinese immigrants often bypass Los Angeles' Chinatown, immediately settling in these Chinese American enclaves in the San Gabriel Valley.<sup>191</sup> This is in stark contrast to the pattern of earlier Chinese immigrants, almost all of whom initially lived in Chinatown.

With the diffusion and diversification of the region's Chinese American population during this period, more Chinese businesses and institutions begin to appear in other areas of the city. East West Players, one of the country's first Asian American theater organizations, was founded in 1965 in the basement of Pilgrim Church at 1629 Griffith Park Boulevard in Silver Lake.<sup>192</sup> Located in Little Tokyo at the Union

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<sup>189</sup> Wei Li, "Anatomy of a New Ethnic Settlement: The Chinese Ethnoburb in Los Angeles," *Urban Studies*, March 1, 1998, 482.

<sup>190</sup> "Frederic Hsieh," *New York Times*, August 21, 1999. SFGate, accessed July 2013, <http://www.sfgate.com/news/article/Frederic-Hsieh-2913678.php>. Many of the Chinese immigrants that have settled in the San Gabriel Valley are Mandarin-speaking Chinese from China and Taiwan. Information provided by Munson Kwok, Project Advisory Committee member.

<sup>191</sup> An exception to this trend is Chinese-speaking refugees, who often arrive with few economic resources. For many in this group, Los Angeles' Chinatown remains the first destination. Information provided by Munson Kwok, Project Advisory Committee member.

<sup>192</sup> East West Players, accessed July 2017, <http://www.eastwestplayers.org>.

Center for the Arts at 120 North Judge Aiso Street,<sup>193</sup> East West Players has premiered more than one hundred plays and musicals featuring Asian American experiences and history, serving as an important training ground for Asian Americans pursuing careers in theater, film, and television. An important Chinese institution, the Yu Acupuncture Clinic has been in operation at 1807 Beverly Boulevard in Westlake since 1977. The large influx of immigrants of Chinese descent after 1965 sparked a resurgence in traditional Chinese medicine in Los Angeles, including Chinese herbal medicine and acupuncture. Dr. Moses Yu came to the United States at this time, hoping to continue the practice acupuncture that has been in his family for 21 generations. When he found he could not get licensed, he set up a makeshift office in Chinatown, and became instrumental in getting the practice of acupuncture legalized in California in 1976. The Moses Yu Family Acupuncture and Chiropractic Clinic was formally established the following year, and includes Yu's wife and three children among its staff.<sup>194</sup>

It was also during this period that the area known as Spring Street Chinatown began to thrive. Functionally a part of a much-expanded Chinatown, Spring Street developed organically beginning in the 1950s in response to needs of the Chinese American community who sought places to shop, dine out, and enjoy entertainment away from the more tourist-centered developments further north.<sup>195</sup> An important reminder of this postwar development is the King Hing Theater at 649 North Spring Street. Established in 1962 as the Sing Lee Theater, it was part of a nationwide network of theaters that distributed Chinese-language films, particularly those from Hong Kong.<sup>196</sup> Over the years, theater owner Sik Wah Lew accumulated a substantial collection of 35mm films from what is considered the Golden Age of the Hong Kong movie industry of the 1970s and 1980s, many of which have since been donated to the UCLA Film and TV Archive.<sup>197</sup> During its tenure, the Sing Lee Theater also hosted Chinese opera performances and community events.

Despite changes in the settlement patterns of area Chinese and Chinese Americans, Chinatown continued to be the commercial and cultural heart of the Chinese American community in Los Angeles. On November 12, 1966, a monument to Chinese revolutionary leader and first president of the Republic of China Sun Yat-sen was dedicated at the Broadway Street entrance to the New Chinatown development. Commissioned by the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association to commemorate the centenary of his birth, the 5-foot-tall statue was executed in Taiwan and placed atop a white marble pedestal designed by artist Robert John Lee. Flowers are placed in front of the monument by the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association on the anniversaries of Sun's birth and death.

When Bruce Lee arrived in Los Angeles in 1966 to star in *The Green Hornet* television show, he established a martial arts studio at 628 West College Street. Between 1971 and 1973, he starred in four

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<sup>193</sup> This property is City of Los Angeles Historic-Cultural Monument No. 312 for its association with Los Angeles' Japanese American community.

<sup>194</sup> Yu Family Acupuncture, accessed July 2017, <http://www.yufamilyclinic.com/>.

<sup>195</sup> *Angels Walk LA*.

<sup>196</sup> Victor Fan, "New York Chinatown Theaters under the Hong Kong Circuit System," *Film History*, March 2010, accessed July 2017 via Project Muse, <https://muse.jhu.edu/article/376116>.

<sup>197</sup> Information provided by Warren Hong, Project Advisory Committee member.

feature-length films, popularizing the traditional Hong Kong martial arts film, sparking a surge of interest in Chinese martial arts in the West, and helping to change the way Asians were presented in American films. Lee also became a familiar face in Chinatown, working out at the Alpine Recreation Center and jogging around the neighborhood. In 2013, a seven-foot-tall bronze statue of Lee was unveiled in the New Chinatown development's Central Plaza, commemorating the 40<sup>th</sup> anniversary of his death, as well as the 75<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the construction of New Chinatown.<sup>198</sup>

In addition to the Sing Lee Theater on Spring Street, two more Chinese-language theaters were established in Chinatown during this period. The Cinemaland Theater (Royal Pagoda Theatre) opened at 410 Cottage Home Street in the early 1960s. In the late 1960s, the Alpine Theater, a 1926 vaudeville theater at 718 North Figueroa Street,<sup>199</sup> was reopened as the Kim Sing Theater. In the 1970s and 1980s, these venues were perhaps best known for screening the latest kung fu films from Hong Kong, including those of Bruce Lee, Jet Li, Chow Yun Fat, and Jackie Chan, as well as the films of the Shaw Brothers Studio.<sup>200</sup> It was also at this time that Chinatown got its first major national bank. Following the success of Cathay Bank, Bank of America opened a branch at 850 North Broadway in 1971. Designed by Gilbert Leong and Richard Layne Tom, the Modern building incorporates classical Chinese elements, including a jade green tile roof with upturned ridgelines over extended wood beams.<sup>201</sup>

Chinatown experienced a resurgence in tourism during this period, due in large part to two popular rock music venues, both located in the New Chinatown development. In 1970, restaurateur Esther Wong opened Madame Wong's, along with her sister Cathy Wong Yee. Located at 949 Sun Mun Way (extant), Madame Wong's played a pivotal role in the Los Angeles new wave music scene in the 1970s and 1980s, showcasing bands like The Police, The Motels, The Bangles, Oingo Boingo, the Red Hot Chili Peppers, and The Ramones. After a fire, Madame Wong's closed in 1985. In 1979, the Hong Kong Café opened just across the courtyard at 425 Gin Ling Way, upstairs from the Hong Kong Low restaurant. Leaning more toward punk music, this short-lived venue hosted shows from cutting-edge bands the Bags, the Weirdos, and the Germs, as well as rising acts like X, the Go-Go's, and Black Flag before they were famous. Hong Kong Café was also featured in Penelope Spheeris' 1980 documentary film about the Los Angeles punk rock scene, *The Decline of Western Civilization*. Hong Kong Café closed in 1981.<sup>202</sup>

In the 1970s, the residential population of Chinatown increased by almost two thirds, from 5,839 in 1970 to 8,652 by 1980.<sup>203</sup> Area demographics also shifted in terms of age and country of origin, as Chinatown evolved to include older, primarily Cantonese-speaking Chinese, along with substantial numbers of working-class Vietnamese, Thai, Indonesian, and Filipino immigrants of Chinese descent. By

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<sup>198</sup> "Bruce Lee Statue unveiled in L.A.'s Chinatown," *Los Angeles Times*, June 16, 2013.

<sup>199</sup> The Alpine Theater is also considered to be the flashpoint of the Zoot Suit Riots in June 1943.

<sup>200</sup> Kim Sing Theater, accessed July 2017, <http://www.kimsingtheatre.com/history>. Additional information provided by Warren Hong, Project Advisory Committee member.

<sup>201</sup> Los Angeles Conservancy, "Exploring Chinatown," 5; Chinese American Museum, *Breaking Ground*, 18.

<sup>202</sup> Information provided by Warren Hong, Project Advisory Committee member.

<sup>203</sup> Karen Lew, "Chinatown: The Present," in commemorative booklet *Chinatown Los Angeles: The Golden Years 1938-1988* (Los Angeles: Chinese Chamber of Commerce, 1988), 59.

the mid-1980s, nearly half of all businesses in Chinatown were owned by Vietnamese Chinese.<sup>204</sup> In response to this population growth, two new commercial centers were developed. In 1972, Mandarin Plaza opened at 978 North Broadway. Designed by architect Hai C. Tan, it was the first substantial commercial development in Chinatown since the 1950s.<sup>205</sup> In 1978, Far East Plaza opened just down the street at 727 North Broadway, considered by many to be the first modern ethnic shopping mall in America.<sup>206</sup> Distinguishing Far East Plaza from other commercial developments was the fact that every storefront was zoned for restaurant use.<sup>207</sup> The local cuisine also evolved in order to cater to different ethnic groups. Chinatown restaurants increasingly served dishes from various Asian countries alongside traditional Chinese cuisine such as dim sum, shifting away from the more Americanized Chinese dishes like chop suey and egg foo young commonly served in Chinatown restaurants in earlier decades.

This rapid influx of residents often led to substandard housing conditions, strained social services, and overcrowding. In an effort to better serve the needs of the area's immigrant community, a number of community service organizations and educational centers were established. The Chinatown Service Center opened in 1971, as a branch of the United Way (later located at 767 North Hill Street).<sup>208</sup> In 1976, the Chinatown Senior Citizens Service Center was founded by the Chinese Committee on Aging (later located at 600 North Broadway). In 1980, the Community Redevelopment Agency of the City of Los Angeles (CRA/LA) established the Chinatown Redevelopment Project Area and oversaw the construction of several affordable housing projects.<sup>209</sup>

To meet the demands of this growing and diversifying community, Castelar Street Elementary School was substantially expanded in the 1970s, including a large addition designed by Eugene Choy.<sup>210</sup> Located at 840 Yale Street, Castelar School is the second oldest continuously operating elementary school in the Los Angeles Unified School District, dating back to 1882. It also became the first school in the district to offer trilingual instruction (English, Chinese, and Spanish), with faculty and staff who speak Cantonese, Mandarin, Toisanese, Hakka, Chiu Chow, Khmer, Vietnamese, and Spanish.<sup>211</sup> Reflecting this diversity, in 1976 children's book author and illustrator Leo Politi created a painted wall mural at the school's entrance depicting a multi-ethnic group of students playing *Ring Around the Rosie*.<sup>212</sup> In 1977, the school became the founding location of the Chinatown public library.<sup>213</sup>

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<sup>204</sup> Him Mark Lai and Russell Jeung, "Guild, Unions, and Garment Factories: Notes on Chinese in the Apparel Industry," *Chinese America: History and Perspectives*, 2008, 7. Him Mark Lai digital archive, accessed July 2017, <https://himmarklai.org/digitized-articles/2006-201/01-5/>.

<sup>205</sup> *Angels Walk LA*.

<sup>206</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>207</sup> Katherine Spiers, "Chinatown's Far East Plaza is a Dining Destination Thanks for George Yu," *LA Weekly*, May 3, 2017.

<sup>208</sup> Lew, "Chinatown," 59.

<sup>209</sup> *Ibid.*, 63. Seven low-income housing projects were constructed in the neighborhood during this period, including Cathay Manor, a 270-unit apartment complex at 600 North Broadway (1985) to house senior citizens.

<sup>210</sup> Los Angeles Conservancy, "Exploring Chinatown," 6.

<sup>211</sup> *Angels Walk LA*.

<sup>212</sup> Mural Conservancy of Los Angeles, accessed July 2017, <http://www.muralconservancy.org/murals/untitled-35>; *Angels Walk LA*.

<sup>213</sup> The Chinatown Branch of the Los Angeles Public Library opened at North Hill and Ord Streets in 2003.



## SurveyLA Citywide Historic Context Statement

### Chinese Americans in Los Angeles, 1850-1980

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In the 1980s, public art in Los Angeles got a boost through the Community Redevelopment Agency's Percent for Art program, which required that one percent of the cost of large-scale development projects be designated to fund the creation and installation of public art. With the establishment of Chinatown as a redevelopment area, public art became a stronger presence and an increasingly important component of the area's urban design. Chinatown is home to numerous public art works, many of which were designed by noted Chinese American artists.<sup>214</sup>

Persons of Chinese descent make up one of the largest ethnic groups in Los Angeles. While the influence of Chinese and Chinese Americans is evident in neighborhoods throughout the city, Chinatown continues to serve as the cultural heart of the community. The New Chinatown development, in particular, stands as a monument to the collective achievements of Los Angeles' Chinese American community.<sup>215</sup> Its Central Plaza remains the epicenter for many cultural activities, from Chinese New Year festivities to the mid-autumn Moon Festival, bringing together ethnic Chinese from throughout the region in celebration of shared beliefs, values, and traditions.

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<sup>214</sup> Commissioned public art in Chinatown includes *The Party at Lan T'ing* mural at 536 West College Street (Shiyan Zhang, 1991), the *Listening for the Trains to Come* sculpture at 946 Adobe Street (May Sun, 1992), the *Water Lens Tower* sculpture at 755 West College Street (Carl Cheng, 1992), the Chinatown Gateway, spanning North Broadway north of Cesar Chavez Boulevard (Rupert Mok, 2001); and the *Shades of Chinatown* mural at 421 West College Street.

<sup>215</sup> Los Angeles Conservancy, "Exploring Chinatown," 9.

## **ASSOCIATED PROPERTY TYPES AND ELIGIBILITY REQUIREMENTS**

The “Property Types and Eligibility Standards” were developed as part of the Asian American in Los Angeles National Register Multiple Property Documentation (MPD) form and are applicable to all five Asian American contexts of the MPD. Though they focus on eligibility for listing in the National Register of Historic Places, they are easily adaptable for use in evaluating property eligibility for listing in the California Register of Historical Resources (CR) and/or as a local Historic-Cultural Monument (HCM). The criteria for these programs parallel criteria used for the National Register. Some considerations in applying the standards under HCM and CR criteria for designation are below.

- Criterion A of the National Register is the equivalent of Criterion 1 for HCM and the CR.
- Criterion B of the National Register is the equivalent of Criterion 2 for HCM and the CR.
- Criterion C of the National Register is the equivalent of Criterion 3 for HCM and the CR.
- There is no 50 year rule for eligibility for listing in the CR or as an HCM. Therefore, Criterion G, “must be of exception importance if less than 50 years of age” does not apply.
- Integrity considerations may vary in some cases when applied under CR and HCM criteria.
- Commercial signs are not included as a property type eligible for the National Register. However, signs may meet significance threshold for local listing as an HCM. To evaluate signs see the “Commercial Signs” theme of the Citywide Historic Context Statement.
- The local Historic Preservation Overlay Zone (HPOZ) ordinance criteria may apply to historic districts.

This section assists with the identification and evaluation of properties that may be significant for their association with Asian American history in Los Angeles under one of the five historic contexts of this MPDF. A wide range of property types has been identified and the different types are referenced throughout the contexts.

Properties may be eligible under Criteria A, B, C, and/or D of the National Register:

- A: that are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of history,
- B: that are associated with the lives of persons significant in the past,
- C: that embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction; represent the work of a master; possess high artistic values; or represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction,
- D: that have yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.

### **Criteria Consideration A: Religious Properties**

A religious property is eligible if it derives its primary significance from architectural or artistic distinction or historical importance.

### **Criteria Consideration B: Moved Properties**

A property removed from its original or historically significant location can be eligible if it is significant primarily for architectural value or it is the surviving property most importantly associated with a historic person or event.

### **Criteria Consideration C: Birthplaces of Graves**

A birthplace or grave of a historical figure is eligible if the person is of outstanding importance and no other appropriate site or building exists directly associated with his or her productive life.

Criteria Consideration D: Cemeteries

A cemetery is eligible if it derives its primary significance from graves of persons of transcendent importance, age, distinctive design features, or association with historic events.

Criteria Consideration E: Reconstructed Properties

A reconstructed property is eligible when it is accurately executed in a suitable environment and presented in a dignified manner as part of a restoration master plan and when no other building or structure with the same associations has survived. All three requirements must be met.

Criteria Consideration F: Commemorative Properties

A property primarily commemorative in intent can be eligible if design, age, tradition, or symbolic value has invested it with its own historical significance.

Criteria Consideration G: Properties That Have Achieved Significance Within the Past Fifty Years

A property achieving significance within the past fifty years is eligible if it is of *exceptional importance*.

Fifty years is a general estimate of the time needed to develop historical perspective and to evaluate significance. This consideration guards against the listing of properties of passing contemporary interest and ensures that the National Register is a list of truly historic places. Exceptional importance sufficient to satisfy Criteria Consideration G is a measure of the property's importance within the appropriate historic context, at the local, state, or national level of significance.

Most extant resources meeting this requirement are associated with the Chinese, Japanese, and Korean populations. There are fewer resources associated with the Filipino and Thai communities. Those properties not of exceptional importance may become eligible when more time has passed. It is anticipated that this MPDF will be amended over time to include expanded periods of significance and other Asian American populations in Los Angeles, and to address additional themes and property types not yet known.

### ***Integrity***

Properties eligible for the National Register must also have integrity, the ability to convey their significance. Integrity is based on significance: why, where, and when a property is important. The evaluation of integrity is sometimes a subjective judgment. It must always be grounded in an understanding of a property's physical features and how they relate to its significance. Only after significance is fully established can integrity be evaluated. Ultimately, the question of integrity is answered by whether or not the property retains the **identity** for which it is significant.

Historic properties either retain integrity (convey their significance) or they do not. Within the concept of integrity, the National Register criteria recognizes seven aspects or qualities that, in various combinations, define integrity:

- *Location* is the place where the historic property was constructed or the place where the historic event occurred.
- *Design* is the combination of elements that create the form, plan, space, structure, and style of a property.
- *Setting* is the physical environment of a historic property.
- *Materials* are the physical elements that were combined or deposited during a particular period of time and in a particular pattern or configuration to form a historic property.

- *Workmanship* is the physical evidence of the crafts of a particular culture or people during any given period in history or prehistory.
- *Feeling* is a property's expression of the aesthetic or historic sense of a particular period of time.
- *Association* is the direct link between an important historic event or person and a historic property.

To retain historic integrity a property will always possess several, and usually most, of the aspects. The retention of specific aspects of integrity is paramount for a property to convey its significance. Determining which of these aspects are most important to a particular property requires knowing why, where, and when the property is significant.

Each type of property depends on certain aspects of integrity more than others to express its historic significance. Determining which aspects are most important to a particular property requires an understanding of the property's significance and its essential physical features. A property important for association with an event, historical pattern, or person(s) ideally might retain some features of all seven aspects of integrity. Integrity of design and workmanship, however, might not be as important to the significance, and would not be relevant if the property were a site. A basic integrity test for a property associated with an important event or person is whether a historical contemporary would recognize the property as it exists at the time of nomination.

All properties change over time. It is not necessary for a property to retain all its historic physical features or characteristics. The property must retain the essential physical features that enable it to convey its historic identity. The essential physical features are those features that define both why a property is significant (Applicable Criteria and Areas of Significance) and when it was significant (Periods of Significance). Street-facing elevations should retain most of their major design features; some original materials may have been altered or removed. Resources should retain the overall shape and rhythm of window openings and entrances, even if storefronts have changed. Replacement of storefronts is a common alteration, and a missing storefront may not automatically exclude commercial buildings from eligibility.

If there are a number of proximate resources relatively equal in importance, or a property is of large acreage with a variety of resources, and most of those resources retain integrity, the group of resources should be evaluated as a historic district. For a district to retain integrity as a whole, the majority of the components that make up the district's historic character must possess integrity even if they are individually undistinguished. Contributors to a district may have a greater degree of acceptable alterations than properties individually eligible. Properties with reversible alterations to the exterior, such as enclosed porches and replaced windows on residential properties, should not automatically be excluded from consideration. The relationships among the district's components must be substantially unchanged since the period of significance.

Architectural and physical attributes of some properties associated with Asian Americans in Los Angeles may be modest, and some may have been altered, compromising integrity of design, materials, and/or workmanship. Setting may have changed (surrounding buildings and land uses). Original use may have changed. Properties may still be eligible under Criteria A or B on the strength of their association with historic events or people. Retention of location, feeling, association, and sometimes setting, may be more important than design, workmanship, and materials. Properties eligible under Criterion C must retain those physical features that characterize the type, period, or method of construction that the

property represents. Location and setting is important for those properties whose design is a reflection of their immediate environment.

In general, property types associated with Asian Americans in Los Angeles that meet the registration requirements for significance and integrity can be considered rare; in some cases, there may be only one or a few eligible resources. Registration Requirements for property types were developed based on knowledge and comparative analysis of physical characteristics and/or historical associations. The integrity requirements and considerations take into account rarity of resources, knowledge of their relative integrity, and significance evaluations based primarily on eligibility under Criteria A and B.

### ***Registration Requirements***

All property types must date from within the period of significance for the associated context, retain most of the character defining features from their period of significance, and retain sufficient integrity to convey their significance. Properties must have been constructed or used by Asian Americans and represent an important association with the Asian American community in Los Angeles.

Properties must be eligible in the area of Ethnic Heritage: Asian, where Asian may serve as a placeholder for Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Filipino, and/or Thai to be specified as appropriate in the individual nomination. Nominations for properties eligible in the area of Ethnic Heritage must also identify areas of significance that closely relate to the events, activities, characteristics, or information for which the property is significant. Registration requirements and/or special integrity considerations particular to specific property types are identified as needed.

### **Property Types Associated with Prominent Persons in Asian American History**

Description: Properties associated with prominent persons in Asian American History in Los Angeles are common to all contexts and comprise one of the largest groups of historic resources identified under this MPDF. They include residential, commercial, institutional, industrial, and agricultural resources and cover the full period of significance for each related context. Resources can be found citywide, with some concentrations in the geographic areas of settlement and migration as discussed in the context narratives. Architectural type, style, and detail vary widely and are generally based on the date of construction.

Significance: Properties associated with prominent Asian Americans in Los Angeles may be eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion B at the local, state, or national level. A property must be directly associated with the productive life of a significant Asian American or associated with Los Angeles residents of other cultures and ethnicities who have been instrumental in furthering opportunities for Asians Americans. Individuals may be important in a wide range of areas of significance including, and not limited to Ethnic Heritage: Asian, Agriculture, Commerce, Community Planning and Development, Communications, Entertainment/Recreation, Exploration/Settlement, Industry, Art, Performing Arts, Health/Medicine, Politics/Government, Military, Religion, and Social History. Individuals include important civic leaders and activists, business owners, educators, doctors, actors, writers, politicians, farmers, athletes, and artists. Residential properties and professional offices may be associated with persons significant in civil rights and issues related to deed restriction and segregation. While the associated historic context narratives identify numerous persons significant in

Asian American history whose associated properties may be evaluated under this property type, more may be identified with additional research.

**Registration Requirements:**

- Directly associated with the productive life of a significant Asian American or associated with Los Angeles residents of other cultures and ethnicities who have been instrumental in furthering opportunities for Asians Americans
- Individual must be proven to have made an important contribution to one or more areas of significance as it relates to Asian American history
- Individual must have lived in or used the property during the period in which he or she achieved significance
- Contributions of individuals must be compared to those of others who were active, successful, prosperous, or influential in the same field
- Each property associated with someone important should be compared with other properties associated with that individual to identify those resources that are good representatives of the person's historic contributions
- For multi-family residential properties, the apartment or room occupied by the person must be readable from the period of significance
- Properties associated with the lives of living persons *may* be eligible, if the person's active life in their field of endeavor is over AND sufficient time has elapsed to assess both their field and their contribution in a historic perspective
- Should retain integrity of location, design, feeling, and association

**Property Types Associated with Settlement: Residential Historic Districts**

**Description:** Residential historic districts associated with Asian American settlement and migration patterns are primarily comprised of tracts, subdivisions, or neighborhoods of residential buildings, and may also include other property types and, in particular, commercial buildings. Enclaves exclusive to Asian Americans are not common. There are some areas of migration and settlement with mixed ethnicities whose Asian populations grew in size—particularly in the postwar period, and after racially restrictive covenants were outlawed in 1948. There are no known extant residential enclaves from the prewar period. Known enclaves associated with the postwar period are primarily associated with the growing Japanese population of Los Angeles and in the areas of Harbor Gateway, the Crenshaw District, and Jefferson Park.

While some are settlements of earlier residential neighborhoods (dating from the first half of the twentieth century), others were developed as tract housing in the late 1950s and are comprised of ranch houses. Some feature vernacular Japanese gardens and landscape features giving a distinct sense of place. A noteworthy residential ethnic enclave is the Crenshaw Seinan neighborhood in the Crenshaw District, which features single-family ranch houses, multi-family buildings, and commercial buildings associated with Japanese businesses. Although the postwar Seinan community was far more widespread than the boundaries of this district, this concentration of resources is significant because it was developed by and marketed to Japanese Americans and promoted for its ethnic character through visual characteristics evocative of Japanese design traditions.

**Significance:** Residential historic districts associated with Asian Americans in Los Angeles may be eligible for the National Register at the local, state, or national level of significance under Criterion A and

Criterion C. Areas of significance include Ethnic Heritage: Asian, Exploration/Settlement, and Social History. Other areas of significance may be identified. Only residential districts associated with settlement of the Japanese American population of Los Angeles after World War II have been identified as part of this MPDF. They evidence migration patterns throughout the city and increased ability for homeownership. Other districts may be identified over time.

Registration Requirements:

- Must have a significant association with the settlement and/or migration of Asian Americans over time
- May be associated with numerous historic personages who lived in the neighborhood for the cumulative important of those individuals to the community
- May represent issues relating to deed restriction and segregation
- Should retain integrity of location, design, feeling, and association

**Property Types Associated with Business and Commerce**

**Commercial Buildings**

Description: Commercial properties associated with Asian Americans in Los Angeles housed a variety of businesses and vary widely. Although they cover the full period of significance for each related context, most date from the 1940s and later. Some businesses are still in operation. Businesses include retail stores, neighborhood theaters, and restaurants that served basic neighborhood needs as well as professional offices/services and lodging. Property types also include buildings housing organizations that supported commerce and business development. Commercial retail buildings associated with herbal medicine are discussed in the Property Types Associated with Health and Medicine.

- Restaurant/Bar/Club
- Motion Picture Theater
- Professional Office/Service
  - Mortuary/Funeral Home
  - Bank/Financial Institution
  - Employment Agency
  - Law Office
  - Barber Shop
  - Tailor
- Lodging
  - Hotel/Motel
  - Boarding House
- Retail
  - Store/Shop
  - Market/Grocery
  - Bakery
  - Nursery
  - Florist
- Chambers of Commerce and other business development/support organizations

Commercial buildings are located citywide within areas of settlement and migration as indicated in the historic context narratives. In particular, they can be found in areas including Chinatown, Little Tokyo, Koreatown, Sawtelle, Jefferson Park, the Crenshaw District, and the Harbor area. Buildings may or may not have been purpose built. Size, massing, form, and architectural style vary over time. Buildings types range from stand-alone buildings to small, one-story single-storefront varieties to larger, multi-story multi-storefront examples. Of the property types listed above, restaurants and markets constitute a large percentage of known commercial resources and are common to all contexts. Known mortuaries, florists, nurseries, and gardening-related business are associated with the Japanese American community. Business support organizations include the Chinese Chamber of Commerce (Chinatown), the Southern California Gardeners Federation (Little Tokyo), and the Thai Trade Center/Chamber of Commerce.

Significance: Commercial properties associated with Asian American businesses in Los Angeles may be eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion A at the local, state, or national level. Resources may be significant in the areas of Ethnic Heritage: Asian, Commerce, Community Planning and Development, and Social History for their association with significant Asian American businesses of various types. Hotels, motels, and boarding houses may also be significant places associated with the resettlement of Japanese after World War II and in the area of Industry for their association with Asian American labor history. Movie theaters may also be significant in the area of Entertainment/Recreation.

Significant businesses and business organizations evidence patterns of settlement, migration, and changing demographics and played an important role in the commercial growth and development of Los Angeles' Asian American populations. The importance may relate to the particular goods and services provided by businesses or to the role businesses played in local, regional, or even national commerce. Resources may be the founding location or the long-term location of a business. It is common for early businesses to have relocated over time to new locations particularly in the postwar period. As Asian Americans were excluded as customers and sometimes employees at white-owned businesses, they formed their own businesses to provide services and employment opportunities to members of their communities. Some business also served as cultural hubs and popular places to meet and socialize. The customer base for a business may have included all Asian American communities and, in some cases, reached beyond these communities to serve other populations.

Under Criterion B, a resource may be significant for its association with an Asian American who made important individual contributions to commercial development in Los Angeles. Some commercial buildings may also be significant under Criterion C, as excellent examples of their respective styles including the Asian Eclectic style, particularly in Chinatown and Little Tokyo. Many individuals who established these businesses emerged as community leaders.

Registration Requirements:

- Strongly associated with the commercial and professional development of the Asian American community
- Associated with a business that made important contributions to commercial growth and development in Los Angeles and specifically to the Asian American community
- Founding or long-term location of a business significant to the Asian American community
- May be associated with a business/corporation that has gained regional or national importance



- Should retain integrity of location, design, feeling, materials, and association

### **Commercial Historic Districts**

Description: A significant concentration of commercial buildings associated with Asian American businesses in a defined geographic area may constitute a historic district. As discussed in the contexts, identified commercial districts within the period of significance for this MPDF include Little Tokyo (a designated National Historic Landmark district, New Chinatown (1938-1960), and Greater Chinatown (1947-1950). No commercial historic districts have been identified within the period of significance relating to the Korean, Filipino, or Thai communities.

The Chinatown districts are characterized by one and two-story attached commercial buildings, with storefronts directly on the sidewalk. While they are primarily mixed-use commercial, they also include institutional use building. The Asian Eclectic architectural style is most often employed for buildings and other design features, displaying complex rooflines with colorful tiles, flared eaves with decoratively carved roof beams, geometric window screens, and representations of various animals, including dragons, lions, and fish. The districts also include open plazas with Asian-influenced fountains, sculptures, murals, and other contributing features (such as pai-lou or gateways) designed by noted Asian American artists. Some storefronts and windows may have been altered over time and some buildings may have been constructed outside the periods of significance.

Significance: Commercial historic districts associated with Asian Americans in Los Angeles may be eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion A at the local, state, or national level of significance. Identified districts are significant in areas including Ethnic Heritage: Asian, Commerce, Community Planning and Development, and Social History. Commercial districts may also be significant in the area of Architecture under Criterion C as a distinctive and cohesive collection of Asian Eclectic-designed buildings associated with noted Asian American architects and in the area of art for public art features designed master artists or for their high artistic value. Districts evidence the direct influence of Asian American business and civic leaders in the planning, development, and operation of key commercial centers associated with the Asian American community. They served as the hub of day-to-day commercial and social activities for Asian Americans but were also intentionally designed to evoke a sense of the exotic and attract a tourist base to contribute to the local economy.

### Registration Requirements:

- District must include a substantial number of buildings designed by Asian American architects and/or be influenced by significant business/civic leaders in the Asian American community.
- Conveys a strong sense of overall historic environment from the period of significance
- Represents an intact grouping of commercial buildings which, as a whole, exemplify the Asian Eclectic style
- Has a strong cultural association to the community in which it is located
- May be important for its association with numerous historic personages who operated businesses or provided services for the cumulative importance of those individuals to the Asian American community
- Should retain integrity of location, design, materials, setting, and feeling

### **Property Types Associated with Religion and Spirituality**

Description: Property types associated with religion and spirituality are common to all contexts and comprise one of the largest groups of historic resources identified under this MPDF. They include individual buildings as well as religious campuses with multiple buildings, which, in addition to churches and temples, house living quarters, schools, and community and sports activities. Campuses may be evaluated as historic districts. The oldest Asian American religious buildings in Los Angeles are primarily associated with the early settlement period of Chinese, Japanese, and Korean communities and are located in areas discussed in the contexts including Chinatown, Little Tokyo, Boyle Heights, South Jefferson, and Sawtelle. Property types also comprise cemeteries, including Evergreen Cemetery in Boyle Heights.

Specific property types include churches that served a variety of Christian congregations (Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist, Episcopal, and Catholic, among others). These church buildings, were often originally constructed by and for other congregations, and subsequently used as churches for Asian American congregations, while others were purposes built. It was common for congregations to move locations over time, first renting and then purchasing or constructing new buildings. For this reason, many church locations date from the postwar period although congregations may have been established much earlier. In addition, many religious campuses were expanded over time with new larger buildings replacing the earlier ones. Some church properties were founded by non-Asians as part of local Christian missions, particularly in the prewar period. An intact early example is the Saint Francis Xavier Church and School at 222. S. Hewitt Street, a rare example of a religious facility specifically constructed by the Catholic Church to serve the Japanese community (1921-1939). Later churches include the Korean Presbyterian Church (since 1938) and the Filipino Christian Church (since 1950), the oldest Filipino-serving church in the U.S. Christian churches were generally designed in architectural styles of their period of construction. Size, massing, and form vary over time. Most extant churches have undergone some degree of alterations over time.

Property types also include purpose built temples, mostly Buddhist. Most date from 1930s and later and are designed in the Asian Eclectic style. The Koyasan Buddhist Temple (Koyasan Beikuku Betsuin) in Little Tokyo is one of the oldest continually operating Buddhist sects in Los Angeles, dating to 1912. The temple dates to 1940. While many second- and third-generation Chinese Americans practiced Christianity, local benevolent associations also served religious or spiritual functions for those who continued traditional practices of Taoism, Buddhism, or Confucianism. Benevolent association buildings frequently included shrines on the second floor and were also used for instruction of children in religious practices. One example is the Kong Chow Temple in New Chinatown, which is located on the second floor of the Kong Chow Benevolent Association. Another example is the Chinese Confucius Temple School, established by the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association (1952) to provide Chinese language instruction with the tenets of Confucianism. The more recent Wat Thai temple (1979) in the San Fernando Valley is the largest Thai Theraveda Buddhist temple in the United States.

Significance: Religious properties associated with Asian Americans in Los Angeles may be eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion A at the local, state, or national level of significance. Associated areas of significance include Ethnic Heritage: Asian, Religion, Community Planning and Development, and Social History.

Religious buildings and institutions provided spiritual support for Asian Americans, and served as social

and cultural hubs in the community in which they were located. Many offered new immigrants basic social services as well as housing, language classes, and employment counseling. Some also featured recreational facilities, meeting rooms for clubs and other organizations, and sponsored activities such as dances and school programs for local children. They also represented springboards for community leadership, business networks, and civil rights activism. For the Japanese community, properties associated with religion and spirituality may have also played a role in safekeeping possessions during incarceration and providing assistance or temporary housing following their return until about 1947.

Many individuals associated with religion and spirituality emerged as community leaders. Under Criterion B, a resource may also be significant for its association with an individual. Some religious buildings may also be significant under Criterion C, as excellent examples of the Asian Eclectic style or other styles of their period of construction.

**Registration Requirements:**

- May be important for its association with numerous historic personages for the cumulative importance of those individuals to the community
- May reflect the changing demographics of a Los Angeles neighborhood
- May represent a significant event or movement in the social history of Los Angeles
- Should retain integrity of location, design, feeling, and association

**Property Types Associated with Education**

**Description:** Properties associated with education may include colleges/universities, public high schools and grammar schools, and language schools. Parochial schools are included in the Religion and Spirituality property type. Schools may include stand-alone buildings or campuses of multiple buildings comprising historic districts. Size, massing, form, and architectural style of education-related resources vary over time. The majority of education-related resources identified are Japanese language schools dating from the pre- and postwar periods and located in various areas of settlement for Japanese Americans including Boyle Heights, Little Tokyo, Sawtelle, Venice, and the Harbor area. The earliest ones typically utilized existing buildings, whereas the postwar schools were often purpose built by Japanese Americans. Public high schools and grammar schools related to this property type are less common and typically served Asian populations in areas of Los Angeles with diverse ethnic populations. College and university-related resources date from the late 1960s and early 1970s. The most prominent is the Asian American Studies Center. Located on the campus of UCLA, it houses one of the first, and nationally recognized, academic program in Asian studies dating from 1969.

**Significance:** Educational resources associated with Asian Americans in Los Angeles may be eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion A at the local, state, or national level of significance. Associated areas of significance may vary over time and include Ethnic Heritage: Asian, Education, and Social History. Language schools are significant for the role they played in supporting and promoting Japanese American cultural traditions and practices. The later college/university facilities are significant for their strong association with the Asian American Movement and the development of the nation's first Asian Studies academic programs. For the Japanese community, properties associated with education may have also played a role in providing assistance or temporary housing following their return after incarceration, and until about 1947.

Some individuals associated with education may have emerged as community leaders. Under Criterion B, a resource may be significant for its association with an individual. Some educational resources may be significant under Criterion C as excellent examples of the Asian Eclectic or other architectural styles of the period of construction. Historic districts may also be significant under Criterion C.

Registration Requirements:

- Represents an important association with the Asian American community in Los Angeles
- May be important for its association with numerous historic personages (who attended the school) for the cumulative importance of those individuals to the Asian American community
- May represent issues relating to civil rights
- May represent a significant event or movement associated with education and social history of Los Angeles
- Should retain integrity of location, design, feeling, and association

**Property Types Associated with Community Organizations, Social Services, and Institutions**

Description: Property types associated with community organizations, social services, and institutions are common to all contexts and comprise one of the largest groups of historic resources identified under this MPDF. They cover a wide range of facilities serving many functions including, and not limited to, the following:

- Community and Cultural Centers
- Fraternal Lodges, Associations, and Organizations
- Benevolent Associations (Chinese context only)
- Senior Citizens Centers
- Youth Organizations
- Women's Clubs and Organizations
- Children's Homes/Orphanages

Known property types are located citywide within areas of settlement associated with each historic context. While they may cover the full period of significance for each context, most date from the 1940s and later. Some organizations and institutions may have been established earlier in different locations and most are no longer extant, such as those in Old Chinatown. Chinese Benevolent Associations are exclusively associated with the Chinese American context and are located in Chinatown.

Associated buildings may be purpose built or utilize existing buildings constructed for other purposes. Many associated resources may be in their original location, but have had significant new construction or renovation over time. Resources include stand-alone buildings as well as attached one and two-story mixed-use storefront examples (common in Chinatown). Size, massing, form, and architectural style vary over time.

Significance: Institutional building associated with community organizations, social services, and institutions associated with Asian Americans in Los Angeles may be eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion A at the local, state, or national level of significance. Associated areas of significance include Ethnic Heritage: Asian, Social History, Politics/Government, and Community Planning and Development. These organizations served as social and cultural hubs in the communities in which they were located and played a critical role in the lives of Asian Americans of all ages. Many

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provided a range of services to new immigrants settling in Los Angeles to assist with housing, employment, language, and education needs. Others provided activities and services to promote Asian cultural traditions and practices as well as health, social services, and community development programs. Still others supported political activism, equality, and civil rights.

For the Japanese community, properties associated with community organizations, social services, and institutions may have played a role in providing assistance or temporary housing following their return after incarceration, and until about 1947.

Many individuals associated with Asian American community organizations, social services, and institutions may have also made significant individual contributions to their respective field and associated resources may be eligible under Criterion B. Some buildings may also be eligible under Criterion C as excellent examples of the Asian Eclectic style or other architectural style of their period of construction.

#### Registration Requirements:

- May be important for its association with numerous historic personages for the cumulative importance of those individuals to the community
- May reflect the changing demographics of a Los Angeles neighborhood
- May represent a significant event or movement in the social history of Los Angeles
- Should retain integrity of location, design, feeling, and association

#### **Property Types Associated with Health and Medicine**

Description: Properties associated with health and medicine primarily include institutional and commercial buildings such as hospitals, homes for the aged, medical offices, medical clinics, and herbal medicine stores. They cover the full period of significance for each related context. Most resources are associated with the Chinese and Japanese communities. The only known hospital is the Japanese hospital in Boyle Heights, which opened in 1929. The hospital was established by Japanese doctors, who were not granted staff privileges by other hospitals, but opened its doors to people of all ethnicities. Though not common, research may also reveal single-family residences or other facilities (particularly in Boyle Heights) associated with Japanese sanba, or midwives, who provided health care facilities for pregnant women in the early twentieth century. Property types also include medical offices and clinics of noted doctors and practitioners that served Asian American clientele. Of note is the Dr. Primitiva Demandante Asprin clinical laboratory in Wilmington. Dr. Asprin was the first Filipina doctor to be licensed to practice medicine in California. Also of note is the Yu Family Acupuncture Clinic. Dr. Moses Yu, well known for his acupuncture practice in China, successfully fought for legalization of acupuncture in California in 1976, and opened his clinic in a converted residence in the Westlake neighborhood soon thereafter.

Herbal medicine stores are also included in the health/medicine property types and are primarily associated with Chinese American businesses. Herbal medicine was both familiar and likely the only medical treatment available to early immigrants, and Chinese were typically denied access to public medical facilities. Herbal medicine was also a rare example of a profession that allowed Chinese immigrants to make a long-term living using an ethnic skill. Because legislation prevented Chinese herbal doctors from becoming licensed physicians, leaving them vulnerable to lawsuits and arrests, Chinese herbal doctors often promoted their businesses as merchants selling herbs. Even in Chinatown,

practitioners kept a low profile, often occupying nondescript storefronts. Successful entrepreneurs established import networks and set up mail order businesses to ensure a steady supply of medicines from China. An early herbal store, Sun Wing Wo, occupied a commercial space in the Garnier Building. Later examples of long-term herbal stores were established in New Chinatown, during the 1930s, and then Greater Chinatown. These resources are generally attached one and two-story mixed-use storefronts.

Significance: Health and medicine-related resources associated with Asian Americans in Los Angeles may be eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion A at the local, state, or national level of significance. Associated areas of significance include Ethnic Heritage: Asian, Health/Medicine, and Social History. Identified resources played a significant role in supporting the health and welfare of Asian Americans against racial discrimination in medical care. They also reflect the struggle for the recognition and legalization of traditional Asian medical practices.

Some resources may also be significant under Criterion C as excellent examples of the Asian Eclectic style. Individuals associated with health and medicine may have also made significant individual contributions to the field and may be significant under Criterion B above.

Registration Requirements:

- Represents an important association with health and medicine in the Asian American community in Los Angeles
- Represents an important association with the history and practice of Asian medical traditions such as Chinese herbal medicine and acupuncture
- Should retain integrity of location, design, feeling, and association

**Property Types Associated with Visual and Performing Arts**

Description: Property types associated with visual and performing arts include venues for live performances associated with drama, dance, and music, as well as artist studios, museums, galleries, and other exhibition spaces.

Buildings may be purpose built or non-purpose built. Size, massing, form, and architectural style vary over time. In some cases, more research is needed in the fields of visual, performing, and literary arts to identify significant resources. Research for the Korean context revealed that these topics have not been well documented in English. Identified resources include the Japanese American Cultural and Community Center (1980, Little Tokyo)—which houses one of the largest collections of ethnic art in the nation and features a large performance theater—and East West Players, a nationally recognized Asian American theater organization established in 1965 in the basement of the Pilgrim Church in the Silver Lake neighborhood and moved to the Union Center for the Arts in Little Tokyo (old Japanese Union Church). It is anticipated that over time more associated resources will be identified.

Property types also include works of art by noted Asian American artists such as murals and sculptures. Murals and sculptures are contributing features of commercial historic districts discussed under Property Types Associated with Business and Commerce. Other works have been identified in areas of settlement associated with each context that postdate the related periods of significance. As such, no registration requirements for works of art have been developed at this time. Resources may become eligible as more time passes.

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**Significance:** Resources associated with Asian Americans in the visual and performing arts may be eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion A at the local, state, or national level of significance. Associated areas of significance include Ethnic Heritage: Asian, Performing Arts, Art, and Social History. Identified resources served as important venues to promote Asian American culture and traditions as well as significant actors, writers, musicians, visual artists, and others.

Many individuals associated with Asian American Visual and Performing Arts may have made significant individual contributions to their respective field and may be significant under Criterion B. Some resources may also be significant under Criterion C as excellent examples of the Asian Eclectic style or other styles of their period of construction.

#### **Registration Requirements:**

- Represents a strong association with Asian Americans in the arts, including performing, visual, and literary arts
- Primary interior spaces, especially performance spaces, should remain intact
- Should retain integrity of location, design, feeling, and association

#### **Property Types Associated with Media: Newspapers, Radio, and Television**

**Description:** Property types associated with media include commercial buildings used by newspapers and publishing companies as well as television and radio stations. In some cases, newspapers were published in offices of Asian American organizations. The Shin Han Min Bo and The New Korea newspapers were headquartered in the Korean Independence Memorial Building. Newspapers may also have been published in residences, although no extant examples have specifically been identified as part of this MPDF. There are few newspaper-related associated resources from the period of significance for each context. Many newspapers moved locations frequently or were in print for only short periods of time. Others were in locations that are no longer extant (such as those in Old Chinatown) or that no longer retain integrity from the period of significance. Of those identified, none appear to be purpose built and were located in commercial buildings with multiple uses and tenants. For example, the New Kown Tai Press, the first ethnic Chinese newspaper, was published in the basement of mixed-use commercial building in New Chinatown. Radio and television resources dating from the period of significance for each context are sparse. Those identified are associated with the Korean American community and require additional research. All media resources associated with the Thai community date beyond the period of significance and require additional research over time.

**Significance:** Buildings associated Asian American media may be eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion A at the local, state, or national level of significance. Associated areas of significance include Ethnic Heritage: Asian, Communications, and Social History. Newspapers and press served as the independent voice of the Asian American community in Los Angeles. Media provided general information, helped Asian Americans adjust to life in Los Angeles, and were springboards for social and political activism. Many individuals associated with Asian American media may have also made significant individual contributions to their respective field and may be significant under Criterion B.

#### **Registration Requirements:**

- Founding or long-term location of a publication, radio, or television station significant to

the Asian American community

- Should retain integrity of location, design, feeling, and association

### **Property Types Associated with Sports and Recreation**

Description: Although sports played a significant role in the social and recreational life of Asian American, few resources are extant. Those identified include martial arts studios. Although martial arts may straddle the definition of a sport and discipline, for purposes of this MPDF, it is categorized as a sport. Those identified are associated primarily with the Japanese American community (called dojos). An exception is Bruce Lee's Martial Arts Studio located in Chinatown (1967). No known studios have been identified for their association with the Thai, Korean, or Filipino communities as part of the MPDF. Martial arts studios in the Japanese community were located citywide in areas of settlement by Japanese Americans in the prewar era; most were closed down during the war and some subsequently reopened.

This property type includes commercial buildings specifically housing martial arts schools and studios. Identified examples are located in modest commercial storefronts and were not purpose built. One example, Seinan Judo Dojo in South Los Angeles, is located in a single-family residence. The property type also includes churches, community centers, and other buildings that offered a wide range of services, programs, and activities as identified under Property Types Associated with Community Organizations, Social Services, and Institutions. The Tenrikyo Church in Boyle Heights established a Judo program in 1964 instrumental in making Japanese martial arts an Olympic sport. The dojo boasts a long roster of national and international competitors.

Significance: Martial arts resources associated with Asian American in Los Angeles may be eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion A at the local, state, or national level of significance. Associated areas of significance include ethnic history, social history, and entertainment/recreation. Martial arts played a central role in the Asian American community, reinforcing traditional cultural practices. Particularly important are studios that reestablished following World War II as well as those that included well-known instructors of various martial arts disciplines and contributed to the professionalism and mainstream popularity of the sport. The first organized martial arts Kendo activity in Los Angeles emerged in 1914 and by the end of the 1920s, the majority of participants were Nisei. Judo clubs also became common in Southern California and tournaments were held regularly in Little Tokyo.

Individuals associated with martial arts may have also made significant individual contributions to the field and may be significant under Criterion B above.

#### Registration Requirements:

- Founding or long-term location of a martial arts studio/program significant in Asian American history
- Should retain integrity of location, design, feeling, and association

### **Property Types Associated with Military History**

Description: Property types associated with Asian Americans and the military mostly date from the World War II period. They include Wartime Civil Control Association (WCCA) civil control stations (also



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known as processing centers) and temporary detention centers associated with the incarceration of Japanese Americans during the war. Control stations were established throughout Los Angeles and located in existing buildings such as churches, schools, and community centers. Control stations were established throughout Los Angeles in areas including Little Tokyo, Downtown, Sawtelle, Venice, Hollywood, and South Los Angeles. Japanese residents were required to register at one of the stations and then reported on their designated day of travel. Extant locations include the Japanese Union Church in Little Tokyo, St. Mary's Episcopal Church, the Japanese Institute of Sawtelle, and buildings at 923 Venice Boulevard and 360 S. Westlake Avenue.

In addition to the control centers, temporary detention sites were established at Civilian Conservation Corp (CCC) camps in Griffith Park and the Tujunga area of the San Fernando Valley. The CCC buildings are no longer extant. The center in Tujunga is locally designated as the Site of the La Tuna Canyon Detention Center.

Military property types also include commemorative war monuments and memorials associated with the Korean and Japanese American communities. Identified examples are the Japanese American 442<sup>nd</sup> Regimental Combat Team memorial (1949), Garden of the Pines memorial to Issei pioneers (1966), and the Go For Broke Monument and National Education Center honoring Japanese Americans in WWII (1999) all in Evergreen Cemetery in Boyle Heights. The Korean Bell and Belfry of Friendship (1976) is dedicated to American veterans of the Korean War and located in San Pedro's Angels Gate Park.

Following the war and their return to Los Angeles after incarceration, some Japanese Americans found temporary housing at many religious institutions, schools, and community centers in Los Angeles. These are discussed above in the property types relating to education, religion and spirituality, and community organizations, social services, and institutions.

Significance: Military properties associated with Asian American in Los Angeles may be eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion A at the local, state, or national level of significance. Resources may be significant in the areas of Ethnic Heritage: Asian, Military, and Social History. These properties represent a significant chapter in American history, specifically the treatment of Japanese Americans by the U.S. government during World War II. It was the culmination of a pattern of discriminatory treatment toward Japanese Americans reinforced through laws.

#### Registration Requirements: Civil Control and Detention Centers

- Facility used as a civil control center or temporary detention center for Japanese Americans during World War II
- Has a clear association with the Japanese American population during World War II
- Should retain integrity of location, design, feeling, and association

#### Registration Requirements: Commemorative War Monuments and Memorials

- A war monument/memorial specifically designed to honor or commemorate the role of Korean and Japanese Americans in the Korean War and World War II
- Should retain integrity of location, design, feeling, and association

#### Property Types Associated with Agriculture

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Description: There are few known resources in Los Angeles relating to Asian Americans and agriculture. Property types include vernacular agricultural landscapes and ranch/farm houses.

Historic vernacular landscapes depict agricultural activity from the late nineteenth to early twentieth centuries. They generally include at least one agricultural building that serves as a focal point of agricultural activity (e.g. a barn or stable) and adjacent agricultural land. Excellent examples will also include related structures for a full range of farming activity such as irrigation, harvesting, storage, or livestock containment. The landscape may be located on a larger lot and be visibly older than surrounding development.

The only known resource identified as part of the MPDF is the Jue Joe Ranch at 16608 Vanowen Boulevard in Van Nuys (Lake Balboa). The ranch, which once stretched some 100 acres and included numerous residential and work buildings, supplied asparagus to the produce markets in Downtown Los Angeles. Joe was also one of the directors of the San Fernando Valley Asparagus Marketing Association, and by 1925 was considered one of best-known Chinese growers in the Valley. A small piece of this land remains, containing a barn and what appears to be an asparagus packing shed. A residence and swimming pool, constructed by Jue Joe's son after his father's death in 1941, is also extant. Other ranch houses may be identified in the San Fernando Valley and the West Adams areas of Los Angeles, but would no longer have the historic association with a ranch. They may still be eligible as the only extant property types associated with Asian American agricultural history of Los Angeles.

There is little if any clear difference between the design of a farmhouse and a non-farm residence from the same era of development. Farmhouses are generally of wood-frame construction and reflect popular architectural style of the period of construction. They may be significant when they can visibly convey their historic use through the presence of an associated vernacular agricultural landscape. Due to their relative rarity, intact farmhouses constructed prior to 1900 may have the smallest suggestion of its former setting (a larger lot, landscaped with fruit trees and/or vegetable gardens) and still be eligible, particularly at the local level of significance. Properties from the twentieth century may require a more expansive historic landscape with some additional agricultural features, such as one or more outbuildings, related structures such as canals, standpipes, corrals, and tanks, agricultural land, or a related grove/orchard. Properties associated with agriculture may also be associated with Asian Americans who made important individual contributions to the field under Criterion B.

Significance: Agricultural properties associated with Asian Americans in Los Angeles may be eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion A at the local, state, or national level of significance. Resources may be significant in the areas of Ethnic Heritage: Asian, Agriculture, and Social History.

Truck farming was an important part of agricultural production in Los Angeles, particularly for local markets. It provided a livelihood for thousands of small farmers in rural parts of the city, including farmers from a variety of ethnic and cultural backgrounds. Their contributions when viewed in aggregate, were critical to the local economy. Furthermore, some truck farms represent a notable movement within early twentieth century residential development to provide self-sufficient acreage in a systematic way to newcomers who wanted a rural lifestyle.

Intact farmhouses are rare and may be significant remnants of a once expansive agricultural landscape within the city. They represent truck farming for the local market, once a critical component of the

agricultural economy of Los Angeles. Farmhouses are the properties that are most intimately associated with the farmers themselves, and some may reflect the agricultural traditions of Asian Americans.

Vernacular agricultural landscapes may be significant remnants of a once expansive agricultural landscape within the city. They represent truck farming and/or ranching for the local market, both of which were once critical components of the agricultural economy of Los Angeles. Of all potentially eligible property types, the vernacular agricultural landscape has the strongest historical associations through the retention of several related features. This more complete and expansive property type allows for the fullest understanding of historical agricultural practice and conveys a more all-encompassing sense of place.

Registration Requirements: Vernacular Agricultural Landscape

- Agricultural property owned and/or operated by an Asian American farmer/rancher
- Open landscape with agricultural features that may include a farmhouse, farmland, orchard/grove, agricultural outbuildings and related features such as corrals, irrigation systems, standpipes, and tanks.
- May have played a significant role in agricultural development for local and/or regional/national markets
- Relationships between buildings/structures and landscape features should be retained
- Should retain integrity of location, setting, materials, and feeling

Registration Requirements: Ranch/Farm House

- Associated with a significant Asian American farmer/rancher
- Constructed as a farm/ranch house
- Wood-framed single family residence
- Often designed in prevalent architectural styles of the period
- May convey historic use through an associated historic vernacular landscape
- Because of their rarity, pre-1900 examples may have minimal associated agricultural landscape feature
- Associated historic vernacular landscape features may include barns or stables, corrals, irrigation features, standpipes, tanks, farm land, and or a grove/orchard
- Should retain integrity of setting, materials, design, feeling, and association

**Property Types Associated with Industry**

Description: Industrial properties related to Asian Americans in Los Angeles during the period of significance are very rare due to ongoing development at the Port of Los Angeles and demolition of resources associated with Terminal Island and the canning industry as well as demolition of the areas associated with the wholesale produce and flower industries. Known resources are primarily related to food processing and manufacturing and wholesalers of produce and other foods. Extant industrial buildings are generally one-story and utilitarian in design; some may have also included commercial retail space for sales of products. One of the most notable is the Oriental Food Products founded in 1923 in South Los Angeles and operated at the original location until about 1954. Although the owners were Korean, their well-known brand, Jan-U-Wine, was marketed to Asian Americans throughout Los Angeles. K&S Company was established in 1928 and became one of the most successful wholesale operations in Los Angeles' Korean Community. A more recent resource is the Kim Bang Ah (1977) rice mill and rice cake factory in Koreatown. Known properties also include a rare, remaining and intact building from City

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Market associated with Jue Joe Company, a significant wholesale produce company owned by San Fernando Valley Chinese American rancher Jue Joe (see above under Properties Associated with Agriculture).

Property types associated with Asian American industries also include small commercial hotels and boarding houses that provided temporary housing for workers, mostly men. Most date from the early twentieth century to the 1930s. Though not many remain, those that are extant are located citywide with a small concentration in the area east of Downtown which housed workers in the nearby produce and flower markets – mostly Chinese and Japanese Americans. The buildings are generally masonry construction and typically four stories in height. Some are mixed-use buildings with retail on the first floor operated by Asian American businesses serving the residents. Other examples outside of the Downtown urban core are in residential neighborhoods with a low-scale residential character. Examples are typically one and two stories and wood frame, such as those which housed Japanese American men working as gardeners in boarding houses on the 500 block of Virgil Avenue in the area of Madison/J Flats and in the Sawtelle area.

Although not resulting from research and outreach completed as part of this MPDF, additional research may yield resources associated with Asian American in Los Angeles' garment industry as well as labor history in areas east of Downtown.

Significance: Industrial properties associated with Asian Americans in Los Angeles may be eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion A at the local, state, or national level of significance. Resources may be significant in the areas of Ethnic Heritage: Asian, Industry, and Social History. They are rare remnants of the contributions of Asian Americans to Los Angeles' industrial history. They evidence the types of industries Asian Americans engaged and excelled in based on skills, knowledge, cultural traditions brought with them to Los Angeles and, in some cases, passed on through generations. They also represent a sense of entrepreneurship that triumphed despite racial discrimination and competition with Anglo industries over the years.

#### Registration Requirements: Industrial Building

- A key manufacturing or processing location for a significant Asian American-owned company whose branding and/or products had a significant impact on Los Angeles industrial history
  - May have included retail sales of products
  - One or more related utilitarian buildings
- May possess branding or company logos on the building exterior
- May retain distinctive equipment or building elements that reflect a particular kind of manufacturing process
- Often designed in prevalent architectural styles of the period
- Industry may have been a large employer of Asian Americans, although company may not have been Asian American owned
- Should retain integrity of location, design, materials, feeling, and association

#### Registration Requirements: Hotel/Boarding House

- Rare remaining example of a hotel/boarding house that provided housing for Asian American workers during the period of significance for the associated context
- Often designed in prevalent architectural styles of the period

- Should retain integrity of location, design, materials, feeling, and association

**Property Types Associated with Cultural Landscapes: Designed Historic Landscapes**

Description: Designed historic landscapes associated with Asian Americans include Japanese style gardens. Other types may be identified over time. Japanese style gardens are examples of vegetation and/or hardscape material consciously laid out by a master gardener, landscape architect, architect, or horticulturalist, or an owner or other amateur using Japanese-inspired design principles, associated with a residential, commercial, civic, industrial, or institutional area, and constructed between 1946 and 1969. Extant examples of pre-World War II gardens in the Japanese style are extremely rare. Post-WWII examples of Japanese style gardens are typically constructed as public gardens, such as sister city or friendship gardens, and many have a direct association with Japanese American community organizations. Known examples of Japanese style gardens include the garden at the Donald C. Tillman Water Reclamation Plant (designed by landscape architect Koichi Kawana) in the Encino area and the garden at Stoner Park in Sawtelle.

Significance: Japanese style gardens may be eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion C at the local, state, or national level of significance. Associated resources are significant in the areas of Ethnic Heritage: Japanese and Landscape Architecture. They may be significant for their design quality as well as the work of a master landscape architect.

Japanese style gardens represent the influential contributions of Japanese design traditions and Japanese American gardeners and designers on the evolution of designed landscapes in Los Angeles. Popularized during the early years of the twentieth century in Southern California, garden designs in the Japanese style influenced generations of designers. Japanese style gardens are significant as a reflection of Japanese American immigration patterns and Japanese American acculturation in Southern California. Japanese style gardens may also be significant as a notable work of a master builder, designer, or architect.

The introduction of Japanese garden design to Southern California occurred in 1894, with the opening of the California Mid-Winter International Exposition in San Francisco's Golden Gate Park. A Japanese Village, originally conceived as a temporary exposition exhibit, was incorporated into Golden Gate Park. Baron Makoto Hagiwara, a Japanese landscape designer, constructed the permanent version, named the Japanese Tea Garden. The Baron and his descendants occupied Golden Gate Park's Japanese Tea Garden until their eviction and relocation to an internment camp in 1942. Japanese garden pavilions at the Panama-Pacific Exposition in San Francisco (1915) and the Panama-California Exhibition in San Diego (1915) inspired the construction of Japanese-inspired tea gardens in a number of Los Angeles parks, including Eastlake Park (Lincoln Park), and the Japanese influence was a popular ornamental element in residential gardens.

The fascination with Japanese arts, design traditions, and culture remained strong throughout the 1920s and 1930s and produced many exquisite examples of Japanese-inspired gardens in Los Angeles. Japanese nationals or first-generation Japanese Americans (Issei) typically provided the technical expertise, labor, and continued maintenance of Japanese style gardens. Despite the widespread popularity of Japanese-influenced design in Los Angeles, anti-Asian sentiment was high in Southern California during the first half of the twentieth century with the passage of numerous examples of

discriminatory legislation. During World War II, many Japanese style gardens were demolished, abandoned, defaced, or relocated.

Following the war years, Japanese-inspired gardens quickly shed their wartime stigma. The abundance of newspaper articles in the post-World War II era regarding the care and maintenance of backyard Japanese style gardens further attest to the widespread appeal and popularity of the style. The contemplative beauty of Japanese style gardens also appealed to the economy and design principles of the Modern style that emerged in Southern California in the post-war era.

In the Postwar era, gardening and nursery work represented one of the few occupational areas available to Japanese Americans with extensive agricultural expertise. By the early 1970s, increased opportunities for Japanese Americans meant that the era of the Japanese gardener was coming to an end.

**Registration Requirements:**

- Uses Japanese-inspired design principles associated with a residential, commercial, civic, industrial, or institutional area
- An excellent example of the type and/or represents the work of a significant landscape architect or designer
- Retains significant character defining features such that the visual, spatial, and contextual relationships of the property may be understood
- Use of natural materials, such as large boulders, rock, sand, and logs
- Use of borrowed views, asymmetrical configuration of design elements, attention to ground plane patterns, varied textures, and closely clipped vegetation
- May include winding paths, waterfalls, ponds, and traditional symbolism (e.g., karesansui (dry gravel gardens), horesai (decorative islands), reihaiseki or sansom (stone arrangements) or shrines representative of aesthetic values associated with Zen Buddhism
- May include examples of traditional Japanese art forms or architectural and design elements, such as lanterns, half-moon bridges, pagodas, stepping stones, koi ponds, bonsai, and statuary
- May include traditional ceremonial buildings, such as a teahouse
- May include plant species typical of Japanese and/or California environments (e.g., Japanese maple, camellias, azaleas, rhododendrons, ferns, pines, bamboo, redwoods, elms, sycamores)
- A sufficient number of original materials should be extant such that the historic fabric, character, and overall visual effect has been preserved; some plants may have been replaced in kind
- Should retain integrity of location, setting, design, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association

**Property Types Associated with the Asian Eclectic Architectural Style**

**Description:** The term Asian Eclectic was coined by SurveyLA to convey a fusion of Asian architectural styles and ornamentation, frequently assembled in fantastical combinations to appear exotic. For purposes of the National Register, the style is classified as Other: Asian Eclectic and 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> Century Period Revival: Eclectic Period Revival. Properties associated with the Asian Eclectic style include residential, institutional, industrial, and commercial buildings and historic districts. Properties that meet

the 50-year threshold for significance are generally concentrated in the Chinatown and the Little Tokyo areas of Downtown Los Angeles. Later examples are located in Koreatown and sparsely scattered citywide such as the Wat Thai temple in North Hollywood. No specific example associated with the Filipino community have been identified as part of this MPDF.

The Asian Eclectic style features both pagoda-influenced forms and simplified modern forms with oriental detailing that includes wide, overhanging upturned eaves, decorative applied ornament with oriental and geometric motifs, and brightly colored clay tile roofs. The distinctive, sweeping upturned eaves and steep roofs of early buildings gave way to decorative upturned beams and eaves supporting flat roofs, creating more linear and boxy forms.

The Asian Eclectic style in Los Angeles was primarily used for commercial and institutional buildings, beginning in the 1920s and reached its peak with the construction of New Chinatown and Greater Chinatown from the late 1930s to 1950s. These developments represent historic districts. The style represented a connection to the traditional architecture found in the homelands of recent immigrants and long-established Americans of Asian ancestry. Many of the buildings in this style were designed and planned by neighborhood associations that intentionally used an architecture and design language to signify identification with a specific community's heritage, and to create master planned neighborhoods with ethnic themes as tourist attractions and retail centers. Chinatown also includes significant individual examples of the style, which during the postwar period, blend Modernism with simplified Asian design references, and represented the forward-thinking postwar Chinese American architect community of the period.

Significance: Properties associated with the Asian Eclectic style may be eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion C at the local, state, or national level. Associated resources are significant in the areas of Ethnic Heritage: Asian and Architecture. Individual properties and districts reflect the distinctive qualities of the Asian Eclectic style and were designed or influenced by significant Asian Americans including noted architects and civic and business leaders.

### Individual Resources

#### Registration Requirements:

- Designed by an Asian American architect and/or influenced by significant business/civic leaders in the Asian American community
- Must be an excellent example of the Asian Eclectic style and retains most of the character defining features which may include:
  - Sweeping roofs with flared gables or upturned rafter tails
  - Carved brackets and rafter tails
  - Flat roof with decorative post and beam supporting system
  - Ornamented roof ridge
  - Brightly colored tile roofs
  - Elaborate surrounds on entryways and windows
  - Decoratively distributed mullions on windows
  - Recessed entryways
  - Geometrical patterned window grilles
  - For mixed use, may have second floor balconies
  - For retail, neon signage in fonts evoking calligraphy

- For Chinese-influenced, may be painted red and gold
- For Chinese-influenced, ornament may include dragon or lion statuary
- Should retain integrity of location, design, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association

### **Historic Districts**

#### Registration Requirements:

- Must include a substantial number of buildings designed by Asian American architects and/or influenced by significant business/civic leaders in the Asian American community.
- Conveys a strong sense of overall historic environment from the period of significance
- Represents an intact grouping of commercial buildings which, as a whole, exemplify the Asian Eclectic style
- May also include open spaces with Asian influenced fountains, sculptures, murals, and other features
- Has a strong cultural association to the community in which it is located
- May include some buildings, constructed outside the period of significance.
- Primarily commercial but may include some institutional, residential, or mixed-use buildings.
- District as a whole should retain integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association

### **Property Types Associated with Important Asian American Architects**

Description: Property types designed by Asian American architects include residential, commercial, mixed-use commercial/residential, institutional, and industrial buildings. Extant works by identified architects primarily date from the 1940s through the end of the period of significance for each associated context. Geographically the resources are located citywide, but in particular, the places associated with settlement of Asian Americans as discussed in the contexts. Asian architects worked citywide with concentrations of commercial and institutional work in Chinatown, Little Tokyo, Koreatown, Boyle Heights, Crenshaw District, Jefferson Park, and Sawtelle. A concentration of postwar residential work, including homes architects designed for their own families, is located in Silver Lake.

There is very little scholarship on Asian American architects of Los Angeles. Some are referenced throughout the historic contexts, but others may be identified over time. Generally, the Asian American architect community was small in the prewar period; works that are known appear to be designed for Asian American clients and are mostly institutional buildings. Japanese American architect Yos Hirose is one of the earliest known Asian American architects working in Los Angeles. No early residential examples have been identified as part of this MPDF.

More is known about the postwar architect community; during this time many Asian American architects attended local universities such as USC, became members of the American Institute of Architects, worked with well-known firms, and opened their own firms. Many Asian American architects from this period worked in the Mid-Century Modern style as well as the Asian Eclectic style, often combining elements of both in their designs. The development of Chinatown in the postwar period provided many opportunities for Chinese American architects and the work of Eugene Choy and Gilbert



Leong is perhaps best known. Construction dating to the 1970s and later in the area of Koreatown has been commissioned by Korean business owners and designed by Korean architects; to date little is known about these architects and their work. This study did not identify any work by Filipino American architects. The only known resource associated with Thai architects is the Theravada Temple, designed by architects from the Religious Ministry of Thailand.

Significance: This property type is used to identify resources associated with Asian American architects considered to be masters in their field and who made important contributions to Los Angeles' architectural legacy. In particular, the type reflects buildings designed by Asian Americans whose work was influenced by Asian American culture and aesthetics and designed in the Asian Eclectic style. Properties may be eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion C at the local, state, or national level, depending on the architect's sphere of influence. It is expected that more research on the topic will reveal rich information and that the period of significance will be expanded over time to encompass later periods of architecture in Los Angeles.

Some architects may also be significant under Criterion B for their association with struggles against and rising above racial discrimination in the architecture profession.

Registration Requirements:

- Associated with an Asian American architect/designer who made an important contribution to Los Angeles' architectural legacy
- A significant example of an architectural style or combination of styles influenced by Asian American culture and aesthetics, in particular the Asian Eclectic style
- To be eligible as the work of a master architect/designer, the property must express a particular phase in the development of the master's career or an aspect of his/her work
- Should retain integrity of location, design, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association

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## Appendix A: Chinese American Known and Designated Resources

This document includes designated and known historic resources identified as part of the development of the “Chinese Americans in Los Angeles, 1850-1980,” historic context and is not all inclusive. The list may be expanded over time to include resources identified through additional research and public input as well as resources dating from beyond 1980. More information on some of the resources on this list can be found in the historic context.

Known resources may be eligible for designation under local, state, and/or federal programs. However, inclusion in this list as a resource does not ensure eligibility. Properties must be fully evaluated under relevant criteria to determine if they meet significance and integrity thresholds.

### Property Types Associated with Prominent Persons in Chinese American History

Name	Location	Property type	Comments
Hon. Delbert E. and Dolores Wong Residence	2416 W Silver Lake Dr	Residential - Single Family	The Wong’s were active supporters of the Los Angeles Chinese American community and pioneers in opening up the Silver Lake area to minorities. They purchased the lot where their house was built in 1953. The real estate agent handling the transaction told the Wong’s that the land was not available to a Chinese Americans. Upon hearing from Wong what happened, the property owner threatened to fire the agent if he did not negotiate with Wong. In 1954, the Wong’s commissioned architect Gilbert Leong to design the residence which was home to the couple and their family until their deaths (2006 for Judge Wong and 2014 for Dolores Wong).
Kiu Sing Chan Residence	2309 E Third St	Residential - Single Family	Home of Chan Kiu Sing one the first Chinese residents and property owners in Boyle Heights. Chan’s family is reported to have lived in the house for decades starting in the 1890s. Chan was the first Chinese licensed Methodist minister in the United States and was pastor of the Los Angeles Chinese United Methodist Church from 1900 until 1923.
Thomas Amer House	127 W 56th St	Residential - Single Family	Property/residence focus of 1947 Superior Court Case that received national attention as one of seven cases from California on the issue of enforcing racial restrictive covenants associated to the <i>Shelley v. Kraemer</i> ruling. Amer’s case was viewed as an important civil rights victory for Chinese Americans. In the years following the decision, middle-class Chinese American families began moving into formerly white-only suburbs throughout Los Angeles, creating a more diffuse Chinese population.



**Property Types Associated with Business and Commerce: Commercial Buildings**

Name	Location	Property type	Comments
Bank of America	850 N Broadway	Finance - Bank	1971, by Chine American Architects Gilbert Leong and Richard Layne Tom. Chinatown’s first major national bank. Designed in the Asian Eclectic style.
Cathay Bank	777 N Broadway	Finance - Bank	The first Chinese American bank in California and the first to open in Los Angeles. Cathay Bank has served as an important economic anchor for New Chinatown since its completion in 1962. The bank was instrumental in financing apartments in Chinatown in the years following the 1965 Immigration and Nationality Act, tutored local Chinese business owners on how to use bank services, and instructed Chinatown workers on obtaining installment loans, often without collateral. Over time, Cathay Bank would become the largest domestically owned Asian institution in the U.S., expanding to fifty branches in seven states, with one overseas branch in Hong Kong and two overseas offices. Designed by Chinese American architect Eugene Choy in the East Asian Eclectic style.
East West Bank	931 N Broadway 933 N Broadway	Finance - Bank	Founded in 1972, the East West Federal Savings & Loan Association occupied the ground floor of the Kong Chow Benevolent Association building from 1972 until 1996 or 1997 when it moved to its second location at 942 N Broadway. The financial institution, now known as East West Bank, was the first federally chartered savings and loan company to focus on serving the foreign-born and American-born Chinese community in Los Angeles.
Continental Hotel	800-810 E Seventh St	Lodging - Hotel	1912. Housing for workers in the City Market area
Market Hotel	964-968 S San Pedro St	Lodging - Hotel	1914. Housing for workers in the City Market area
New Union Hotel	701-711 E. 9 <sup>th</sup>	Lodging - Hotel	1924; Housing for workers in the City Market area. Significant altered.
Moytel Motel	946 Yale St	Lodging - Motel	Longtime business in Chinatown; established 1960 and designed by Gilbert Leong for owner Nelson Moy.

Far East Café (Far Bar)	347 E 1st St	Food - Restaurant	Located within the boundaries of the Little Tokyo National Historic Landmark District. Far East Café originally opened in 1896 and moved to 347 1st Street in 1935 to serve Chinese “chop suey” food to the residents and visitors of Little Tokyo. The restaurant, owned by four Chinese families, became a central gathering place for Japanese American community in Little Tokyo for several decades.
Golden Pagoda Restaurant (Hop Louie)	950 Mei Ling Way	Food - Restaurant	Long time Chinese-American business. Established 1941 in New Chinatown; now Hop Louie’s Restaurant. Restaurant owned by Walter SooHoo. Five-tiered Pagoda shaped building also eligible under East Asian Eclectic architecture.
Grand Star Restaurant/Grant Star Jazz Club	943 N Sun Mun Way	Food - Restaurant	Now Grand Star Jazz Club. Owned and managed by the Quon family since 1946.
Hong Kong Low	949 Sun Mun Way	Food - Restaurant	Restaurant downstairs of the Hong Kong Café was filming location for several films including "Save the Tiger," "Sneakers" (1992), and "Freaky Friday" (2003).
Joy Yuen Low Restaurant	425 Gin Ling Way	Food - Restaurant	1940
Kim Ling Inn Restaurant	428 W Gin Lin Way	Food - Restaurant	1940
Li Po Restaurant	951 N Broadway	Food - Restaurant	1940
Man Jen Low restaurant (General Lee’s)	475 Gin Ling Way	Food - Restaurant	1938, rebuilt in this location following demolition of original building location in Old Chinatown. Later renamed General Lee’s. One of the city’s most popular Chinese restaurants hosting celebrities and international dignitaries until it closed in 1985.
Paul's Kitchen (Paul's Café)	1012 S San Pedro	Food - Restaurant	Longtime neighborhood Chinese restaurant said to have opened in 1946 (LAT 2013). Current building dates to 1968.
The Rice Bowl	951 N Sun Mun Way	Food - Restaurant	1940
Tuey Far Low Restaurant	456 W Gin Ling Way	Food - Restaurant	Location of an early New Chinatown restaurant that is no longer in business.
Johnie's Coffee Shop (Romeo's Times Square)	6101 Wilshire Blvd	Food - Restaurant - Diner	Interiors for Romeo's Times Square were designed by Helen Fong for Armet & Davis. Additional research is necessary to determine if interiors retain integrity.

F. See On Co.	507 Chung King Rd	Retail	The business was established by Fong See in Sacramento in 1872, gradually transitioning from silk undergarments to antiques. The family moved to Los Angeles in 1897, locating their shop in Old Chinatown. Still operated by the Fong family, it has been at its current location in Greater Chinatown since 1947, making it one of the oldest family-owned Asian art stores in Los Angeles.
Fong's Oriental Works of Art	943 Chung King Rd	Retail	Opened in 1952
Ginling Gifts	441 Gin Ling Way	Retail	Long-time established store in New Chinatown.
Hong Building	445 W Gin Ling Way	Retail	Established 1938, the Hong Building on the Central Plaza in New Chinatown historic district is particularly notable for its association with You Chung Hong, the first Chinese American to pass the California State Bar and practice law in Los Angeles. Hong became a prominent immigration lawyer. His office was on the second floor of the building.
K.G. Louie Company	432 Gin Ling Way	Retail	Long time Chinese American business establishment. Art and gift store originally located in Downtown Los Angeles and moved to New Chinatown in 1938.
Phoenix Imports	463 Gin Ling Way	Retail	1938
Sincere Imports	483 Gin Ling Way	Retail	Long time established store in New Chinatown, Opened in 1938 and moved to current location in 1940s.
The Jade Tree	957 Chung King Rd	Retail	The Jade Tree at 957 Chung King Road has been family owned and operated since 1943, and is one of the last true antique galleries remaining in Chinatown.
Chew Yuen & Co. Gift Shop	459 W Gin Ling Way	Retail	Early New Chinatown business that no longer exists. Additional research is necessary to determine the dates at this location.
Phoenix Bakery	969 N Broadway	Food - Bakery	Owned and operated by the Chang Family, the bakery was established in 1938. Company's logo (a boy hiding a pastry box behind his back) was created by Tyrus Wong in the 1940's. Moved to current location in 1977 due to outgrowing previous location at 951 N Broadway. Phoenix Bakery is the largest and oldest bakery in Chinatown.

Jin Hing Jewelry Co.	412 Bamboo Lane	Retail - Jewelry/ Antiques	Established 1933 and moved to this location in 1950. One of the oldest continuously operating jewelry stores in Los Angeles. Designed by architect Eugene Choy.
G.W. Market	672 N Spring St	Retail – Neighborhood Market	Longtime business in Chinatown; established 1959-60.
Far East Plaza	727 N Broadway	Shopping Center	Built in 1978, it was considered to be the first modern ethnic shopping mall in America.
Mandarin Plaza	978 N Broadway	Shopping Center	Designed by architect Hai C. Tan in 1972. It was the first substantial commercial development in Chinatown since the 1950s.
Grandview Gardens Sign	951 Mei Ling Way	Sign - Freestanding Pole Sign	Grandview Gardens signs by Milton Quon, local artist, are freestanding backlit signs mounted on a grouping of tall vertical poles with Chinese weapon motifs.
Cineland Theater (Royal Pagoda Theater)	410 Cottage Home St	Entertainment - Neighborhood Theater - Motion Picture	Chinese language theater opened in the early 1960s.
Kim Sing Theater	718 N Figueroa Street	Entertainment - Neighborhood Theater - Motion Picture	Formerly the Alpine Theater, a vaudeville theater built in 1925, opened in the late 1960s as a motion picture theater showing films in English and Chinese.
King Hing Theater	649 N Spring St	Entertainment - Neighborhood Theater - Motion Picture	Opened in 1962; designed by architect Gilbert Leong. Established as the Sing Lee, it was part of a nationwide network of theaters that distributed Chinese-language films, particularly those from Hong Kong. .
Chinese Chamber of Commerce	977 North Broadway	Office - Chamber of Commerce	Formed in 1955 to promote and encourage Chinese American business throughout the City. .

Garnier Building	409-425 N Los Angeles St	Retail; Religion and Spirituality – Church/school; Community Organizations, Social Services, and Institutions – Benevolent Association, Meeting Hall	Designated as part of the Los Angeles Plaza National Register Historic District and the oldest surviving building associated with Old Chinatown and the Chinese population in Southern California. The Garnier Building functioned as an unofficial city hall for Old Chinatown with commercial and civic functions. It was occupied exclusively by Chinese tenants from 1890 to 1954. The first floor and mezzanine level housed commercial uses while the second floor housed a variety of social, religious, and civic organizations. Tenant included Wong Ha Christian Chinese Mission School; Sun Wing Wo Company, an herbal store; the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association; and the Chinese American Citizens Alliance. The building is not individually designated.
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#### Property Types Associated with Business and Commerce: Commercial Historic Districts

Name	Location	Property type	Comments
Greater Chinatown Commercial Historic District	West side of North Hill St	Commercial District	Determined eligible for designation by Section 106 process; Listed in the California Register (DOE 1986). See the “China Americans in Los Angeles Historic Context” for more detailed information
New Chinatown Commercial Historic District	Between N Hill Street, N Broadway, Bamboo Lane and College St	Commercial District	1938; conceptualized by Chinese American civic and business leader and designed by Webster & Wilson in the East Asian Eclectic style. Determined eligible for designation by Section 106 process; Listed in the California Register (DOE 1986). See the “China Americans in Los Angeles Historic Context” for more detailed information

#### Property Types Associated with Religion and Spirituality

Name	Location	Property type	Comments
Los Angeles Chinese Cemetery Shrine	204 N Evergreen Ave	Monument	1888; locally designated Historic-Cultural Monument #486. The shrine is located in the southwestern section of Evergreen Cemetery in an area called “Potter’s Field,” where Chinese residents were buried. The shrine included an altar platform, 120-foot kilns, and memorial stones for funeral ceremonies and seasonal rites and festivals. The cemetery itself is not designated.

Chinese Congregational Church	734 E 9th Pl	Church	1924. Rare remaining example of institutional development associated with the Chinese American community that historically resided in this part of Downtown Los Angeles. The church was historically a hub of a vibrant Chinese American enclave that developed around nearby produce markets and was known as City Market Chinatown. Today, it is one of few extant resources associated with this enclave. It is not known how long the church was associated with the Chinese American community; more research is needed to determine the period of significance. Due to alterations, including wall cladding replacement, removal of a parapet, and modification of window openings, the building may not retain sufficient integrity for eligibility.
Chinese United Methodist Church	825 N Hill St	Church	1947-48, designed by Chinese American architect Gilbert Leong.
First Chinese Baptist Church	984 Yale St	Church	1951, designed by Chinese American architect Gilbert Leong.
First Chinese Presbyterian Church	631 E Adams Blvd	Church	1905-06, congregation moved to this existing church in the 1940s. Church included a school and was also the meeting location for the Chinese women's New Life Movement Association. Building altered and may not retain sufficient integrity for eligibility.
St. Bridget Chinese Catholic Center (St. Bridget Chinese Catholic Church)	510 N Cottage Home St	Church	Established in 1939 by Father John Cowhig, the center was built in 1940 and its missionary services began with a Chinese language school, church, and recreational hall. For decades, the center has provided basic educational and social services to local Chinese-speaking immigrants from all parts of Asia. The center also provides weekend, summer, and even primary school programs for local children as well as mass service in Chinese.
Chinese Confucius Temple and School	816 Yale St	Temple/School	Established by the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association in 1952 to provide Chinese language instruction with the tenets of Confucianism.
Hompa Hongwanji Buddhist Temple	109-119 N Central Ave	Temple	Locally designated Historic-Cultural Monument #313. 1924-1925 by architect Edgar Cline.
Kong Chow Temple	931 N Broadway 933 N Broadway	Temple	1895-1950, reconstructed in 1960. Located in the second floor of Kong Chow Benevolent Association

### Property Types Associated with Education

Name	Location	Property type	Comments
Asian American Studies Center, University of California, Los Angeles	3230 Campbell Hall	College/ University	Important site of the Asian American movement in Los Angeles and the establishment of Asian American Studies as a discipline.
Castelar Street School	850 N Yale St	Elementary School	Example of an LAUSD elementary school in Los Angeles' Chinatown associated with the local Chinese-American community. The Castelar School is the first in the district to offer tri-lingual instruction (English, Spanish, and Chinese). Castelar School also housed the Chinatown Branch of the Los Angeles Public Library for 26 years until 2003. Substantially expanded in the 1970s including a large addition by Chinese American architect Eugene Choy.

### Property Types Associated with Community Organizations, Social Services, and Institutions

Name	Location	Property type	Comments
Bing Kong Tong, Free Mason Association	963 N Broadway	Benevolent Association	1949, Established new permanent headquarter in New Chinatown Neighborhood.
Bow On Benevolent Association	1010 S San Pedro St	Benevolent Association	Established 1968; in the same building as Paul's kitchen. One of the few remaining businesses and organizations in the City Market Chinatown area.
Chinatown Senior Citizens Service Center	600 N Broadway	Social Services/ Community Organization	Established in 1976 by the Chinese Committee on Aging.
Chinatown Service Center	767 N Hill St	Social Services/ Community Organization	Established in 1971 to serve the needs of the immigrant community as a branch of the United Way.
Chinese American Citizens	415 Bamboo Lane	Social Services/ Community Organization	1955, Work of Chinese American architect Eugene Choy.
Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association (CCBA)	925 North Broadway	Benevolent Association	1952, by Chinese American architect Eugene Choy
Gee How Oak Tin Association	421 Bernard St	Benevolent Association	1949, by Chinese American architect Eugene Choy
Gin Family Association	612 W College St	Benevolent Association	1976; architect Andrew F. Gutt

Hop Sing Tong Benevolent Association	428 Gin Ling Way	Benevolent Association	One of the oldest Chinese fraternal organizations in Los Angeles, relocated here from Old Chinatown.
Hoy Ping Benevolent Association	411 Bamboo Lane	Benevolent Association	Established here in 1950
Ning Yung Benevolent Association	972 Chung King Rd	Benevolent Association	Association started in San Francisco in 1892, Los Angeles chapter has occupied this location since 1950. (It is unknown when the Los Angeles chapter was established.)
Jan Ying Benevolent Association	736 Yale St	Benevolent Association	1965; by Chinese American architect Gilbert Leong
Kong Chow Benevolent Association	931 N Broadway 933 N Broadway	Benevolent Association	Constructed in 1960 by the Kong Chow Benevolent Assoc. and designed by Chinese American architect Gilbert Leong. First floor is the founding location for East West Federal Savings & Loan Association (East West Bank).
Kow Kong Benevolent Association	510 Bernard St	Benevolent Association	1956; by Chinese American architect Gilbert Leong
Lee On Dong Association	964 N Hill St	Benevolent Association	1959
Lung Kong Ting Yee Association	989 N Broadway	Benevolent Association	1949; architect A. Godfrey Bailey
Soo Yuen Fraternal Association	993 N Broadway	Social Services/ Community Organization	1965; architect Currie-Higley
Wong Family Benevolent Association (Wong Kong Har Wu San Association)	744 N Broadway	Benevolent Association	1950; by Chinese American architect Eugene Choy
Ying On Benevolent Association	424 W Bernard St	Benevolent Association	1949; by Chinese American architect Eugene Choy

#### Property Types Associated with Health and Medicine

Name	Location	Property type	Comments
Yu Family Acupuncture/Chiropractic Clinic	1807 W Beverly Blvd	Acupuncture/ Chiropractic	Established in 1977 by Dr. Moses Yu following his successful pursuit of the legalization of the practice of acupuncture in the state of California in 1976.



French Hospital (Pacific Alliance Medical Center)	531 W College St	Hospital	Founded in 1860 during a small pox epidemic, the French Hospital served the 4,000 plus French immigrants in Los Angeles. A few years later when the Chinese moved into the area and it nicknamed the "Chinese Hospital," and hospital staff spoke several dialects of Chinese. The French Hospital was the birthplace of many Chinese babies (nicknamed "French babies"). The hospital supported the Alpine Playground teams and other community activities. By 1989 when the hospital's name was changed to the Pacific Alliance Medical Center, 55% of its patients were Asians. By the time of the hospital's closing late 2017, only 11% of the patients were Asian and over 50% were Latinos. In December 2017, after 157 years, the hospital's lease expired and its doors closed. The nonprofit that founded the French Hospital, La Societe Francaise De Bienfaisance Mutuelle De Los Angel, still owns the property.
Dun Sow Hong Co.	463 Gin Ling Way	Retail - Eastern Medicine Shop - Chinese Herbs	Important location of herbal medicine office in New Chinatown. Renamed Mu Bros. Gifts. Current location of Phoenix Imports.
Wing On Tong Co.	654 N Spring St	Retail - Eastern Medicine Shop - Chinese Herbs	Family-owned, oldest continuously operated Chinese pharmacy in Los Angeles. ( <i>Los Angeles Times</i> ) Occupied this location from 1936 to at least 1973.

#### Property Types Associated with the Visual and Performing Arts

Name	Location	Property type	Comments
Hong Kong Café	425 Gin Ling Way	Performing Arts - Music Club	Opened in 1979, music venue and part of the punk rock scene during the late 1970s and early 1980s, with a resurgence in 1993-1995.
Madame Wong's	949 Sun Mun Way	Performing Arts - Music Club	Madame Wong played a pivotal role in the Los Angeles new wave and punk music scene of the 1970s and 80s. Closed in 1985
East West Players (Union Center for the Arts)	120 N Judge John Aiso St	Performing Arts - Theater	Locally designated Historic-Cultural Monument No. 312 for association with various Asian American groups and part of the Little Tokyo National Historic Landmark District.

East West Players	1629 Griffith Park Blvd	Performing Arts - Theater	Original location of East West Players, one of the country' first Asian American theater organizations. The group was established in the basement of the Pilgrim Church and is now located in Little Tokyo at the Union Center for the Arts at 120 N Judge Aiso Street.
"Chinese Celestial Dragon"	951 N Broadway	Visual Arts - Public Art /Mural	1941 painted mural by Chinese American artist Tyrus Wong. Located within the New Chinatown historic district and may not be individually significant.
Listening for the Trains to Come Mural	946 Adobe St	Visual Arts - Public Art /Mural	1992. Artist May Sun, Chinatown Medical and Professional Building, produced through CRA Percent for Art program.
Party at Lan-Ting Mural	536 W College St	Visual Arts - Public Art /Mural	1991. Artist Shiyan Zhang. Social and Public Art Resource Center or SPARC
Shades of Chinatown Mural	421 W College St	Visual Arts - Public Art/ Mural	2003. Artist Steven Wong and others. Public and private funding from multiple individuals and organizations
Chinatown Gateway	N Broadway, north of Cesar Chavez	Visual Arts - Public Art/ Sculpture	Gateway to Chinatown at North Broadway. 2001 by Artist Rupert Mok. CRA et.al.
Statue of Dr. Sun Yat-sen	Sun Mun Way, Los Angeles, CA 90012	Visual Arts - Public Art/ Sculpture	Dedicated in 1966, the statue was commissioned by the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association to honor Sun Yat-sen (1866-1925), the founder of the Chinese Republic. Yat-sen fled China after an unsuccessful uprising and visited Chinese communities in Europe and the United States, including Los Angeles' in 1910, appealing for financial and political support. He was elected the provisional president of the Republic in late 1911.
Water Lens Tower Sculpture	755 W College Street	Visual Arts - Public Art/ Sculpture	1992. Artist Carl Cheng. Funded by Community Redevelopment Agency Percent for Art program.
Chinatown East Gate	945 N Broadway	Public Art/ Monument	Locally designated Historic-Cultural Monument #826. Eastern entrance gate to the New Chinatown historic district. Built in 1938 and designed by You Chung Hong.
Chinatown West Gate	954 N Hill St	Public Art/ Monument	Locally designated Historic-Cultural Monument #826. Western entrance gate to the New Chinatown historic district. Built in 1938 and designed by You Chung Hong.

### Property Types Associated with Media: Newspapers, Radio, and Television

Name	Location	Property type	Comments
New Kwong Tai Press	940 Chung King Rd	Office - Newspaper	Los Angeles' first Chinese ethnic newspaper. Founded 1961 in the basement of this location. It was one of the oldest Chinese newspapers when it ceased operations.

### Property Types Associated with Sports and Recreation

Name	Location	Property type	Comments
Bruce Lee's Martial Arts Studio	628 W College St	Martial Arts Studio	Location of Bruce Lee's martial arts studio; opened in 1967. Dan Inosanto was senior instructor. ( <i>Los Angeles Times</i> 2013)

### Property Types Associated with Agriculture

Name	Location	Property type	Comments
Jue Joe Ranch	16608 Vanowen St	Vernacular Agricultural Landscape	This remaining ranch property and its buildings are significant for their association with pioneering Van Nuys farmer Jue Joe, a Chinese American who established his ranch here in 1919 and lived and worked here until his death in 1941. The original 100-acre ranch property now includes a small piece of land containing a barn and what appears to be an asparagus shed. A residence and swimming pool, constructed by Jue Joe's son after his father's death, is also extant. The property appears to be the last remnant of agricultural property anywhere in the San Fernando Valley.

### Property Types Associated with Industry

Name	Location	Property type	Comments
City Market of Los Angeles	1057 S San Pedro Street	Wholesale Produce Market	Demolished 2013 for new development. Some remnants of Chinese industry and business remain in the surrounding area. City Market was a consortium of Chinese, Japanese, and Anglo farmers who incorporated in 1909. Construction of the market began soon thereafter. The market occupied over 6 acres and was designed in the Mission Revival style by Los Angeles architects firm Morgan and Walls. Chinese investors provided 41 percent of the initial capital required to build the market and Chinese stakeholders invested \$81,850 of a total \$200,000 in contributions. Additional funds were raised by Anglo and Japanese investors to create a uniquely diverse ownership structure.

Globe Paper Company	718 E 9th St	Wholesale Company	The Globe Paper Company was founded by Walter Chung near the City Market and was a major paper product supplier to Chinese restaurants, laundries, grocery stores, meat markets, associations, and general merchandize stores throughout Los Angeles. Later moved to 127 W 39th Street.
Bicycle Lee's	612 W College St	Food Processing	Bicycle Lee's, a flat rice noodle factory established in the 1940s, operated out of the first floor of the Gin/Yan Family Association building at 612 West College Street. Selling this specialty product to the general public, restaurants, and grocery stores, Mr. Lee made his deliveries to regular customers by bicycle
Hong Kong Noodle Company	710 E 9th St or 950 S San Pedro St	Food Processing	Significant as the long-term location of a business important to the commercial identity of Downtown Los Angeles; one of very few extant resources associated with Market Chinatown, a Chinese American enclave that was historically located in the area. The Hong Kong Noodle Company has been in continuous operation at this location since 1910. It is one of several area businesses that purports to have invented the fortune cookie (1918).
Jue Joe Company	1105 S San Pedro St	Wholesale	The Jue Joe Company occupied this industrial building near the City Market from 1932 to at least 1956 and likely marketed wholesale produce from the Jue Joe Ranch.
Quon Yick Noodle Company	2730 N Main St	Food Processing	Established in 1956; moved to this location in 1966. Quon Yick is known for its dry noodles, pasta skins for wontons, fortune cookies and being the competitor to older Hong Kong Noodle Company.

Produce Exchange Building	333 S Central Ave, 335 S Central Ave, 337 S Central Ave, 336 S Towne Ave	Produce Brokerage	Built in 1905 the Produce Exchange Building played an important role in facilitating the distribution of locally grown produce. The ground floor was originally occupied by the Market and Produce Bank. The bank was notable as one of very few institutions at the time whose leadership consisted of both Anglo and Chinese American businessmen; Chinese American merchant, George Lem, sat on the bank's Board of Directors, and several local Chinese American businessmen were stockholders. It is not clear how long the bank remained in operation at this location; more research is needed to determine the period of significance. (SurveyLA)
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**Property Types Associated with the Asian Eclectic Architectural Style: Individual Resources**

Properties may also be significant examples of the Asian Eclectic style (see Associated Property Types and Eligibility Standards section of the Historic Context).

**Property Types Associated with Important Asian American Architects**

Properties below and others referenced above and in the Historic Context may also be significant examples of the work of important Chinese American architects. See also the Associated Property Types and Eligibility Standards section of the Historic Context.

Name	Location	Property type	Comments
Apartment House	2356 W Duane St	Residential - Multi-Family	Built in 1957 is work of Chinese American architect Eugene Choy.
Peter Soo Hoo Sr. and Lillie Soo Hoo Duplex	3018-3020 Castle St	Residential - Multi-Family (duplex)	Building permits from the 1950s list Lillie Soo Hoo as property owner. 1952 permit for duplex with Schwen Wei Ma as architect. 1957 Building permit lists Gilbert L. Leong as architect for an addition to existing duplex.
Barton and Ildiko Choy Residence	3035 W Windsor Ave	Residential - Single Family	Built in 1972 is work of Chinese American architect Barton Choy. Barton is head of Choy Associates, architectural firm founded in 1947 by Eugene Choy. The Choy designs are concentrated in the Silver Lake neighborhood.
Chew Residence	3893 Franklin Ave	Residential - Single Family	Built in 1953, work of Chinese American architect Eugene Choy.
Dr. Edward Lee Residence	2410 W Silver Lake Dr	Residential - Single Family	Work of Chinese American architect Gilbert L. Leong
Edwin Kwoh and Beulah Quo Residence	1906 Redcliff St	Residential - Single Family	Built in 1956, work of Chinese American architect Gilbert L. Leong

Eugene Choy Residence	3027 Castle St	Residential - Single Family	Built in 1949, residence is work of Chinese American architect Eugene Choy, lot also purchased by Choy. He was one of the first Chinese American architects to join the American Institute of Architects, founded the Choy Associates architectural firm in 1947. His son, Barton, is head of the firm today. The Choy designs are concentrated in the Silver Lake neighborhood.
Kawaguchi Residence	3022 Windsor Ave	Residential - Single Family	Built in 1956, work of Chinese American architect Eugene Choy.
Marilyn Choy Residence	3025 W Windsor Ave	Residential - Single Family	Built in 1977, work of Chinese American architect Barton Choy. Barton is head of Choy Associates, architectural firm founded in 1947 by Eugene Choy. The Choy designs are concentrated in the Silver Lake neighborhood.
Tirado-Lion-Peligri Residence	2925 Waverly Dr	Residential - Single Family	Built in 1959, work of Chinese American architect Gilbert L. Leong

## **Appendix B: Asian Americans in Los Angeles Advisory Committee and Participants**

In preparing this context statement, the Office of Historic Resources and the team of consultants, led by Architectural Resources Group (ARG), were advised by a diverse panel of Asian American community members, historic preservation professionals, and historians. The following is a list of project contributors and advisory committee participants.

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Museum Director and Curator of El Pueblo de Los Angeles Historical Monument

Sue Fawn Chung, Ph.D., Professor Emerita at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas  
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Kenneth Klein, Head of the East Asian Library, University of Southern California Libraries

Munson Kwok, Ph.D., National Board Member of the Chinese American Citizens Alliance  
and Advisory Board Member for the Chinatown Business Improvement District

Michelle Magalong, Executive Director,  
Asian & Pacific Islander Americans in Historic Preservation

Eugene Moy, Board Member, Chinese Historical Society of Southern California

Allyson Nakamoto, Director of Education, Japanese American National Museum

Nancy Oda, President, Tuna Canyon Detention Station Coalition

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Bill Watanabe, Retired Executive Director, Little Tokyo Service Center

Steve Y. Wong, Curator, Los Angeles Municipal Art Gallery

Michael Woo, Dean, College of Environmental Design, Cal Poly Pomona

David K. Yoo, Ph.D., Director of the Asian American Studies Center,  
University of California, Los Angeles and Korean American Pioneer Council

George Yu, Executive Director, Chinatown Business Improvement District

Additional input and information was received from the following community members:

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Wendy Chung	Mike Okamura
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Lorna Ignacio Dumapias	Ronee Reece
Rick Eng	Al Soo Hoo
Alex Hack	Donna Sugimoto and the Sugimoto Family
Les Hamasaki	Alvin Takamori
Eric Harris	Nancy Takayama
Warren Hong	Jonathan Tanaka
Florante Ibanez	Mary Tila
Takashige Ikawa	Tom Williams, Ph. D.
Miya Iwataki	Dorothy Fue Wong
Rose Kato	Winston Wu
Katherine Kim	Scott Yamabe